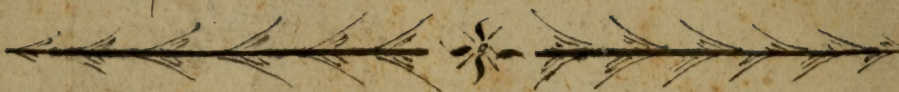


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WITH A
PREFACE,

Containing

REMARKS ON Dr. Rogers's *Vindication of the Civil
Establishment of Religion.*

By SAMUEL CHANDLER.

Λογω δε παιδεσθαι χρη και διδασκεσθαι τες ανδρωτες,
ε πληγαις, εδε υβρεσιν, εδε ακισμω τε σωμα[τ]. Julian.
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P R E F A C E.

AS the great Corruptions of the Christian Religion have been generally owing to, and introduced by spiritual Wickednesses in high Places; so they have been maintained, and rendred secure by the Civil Power; which, through their Persuasion, hath too often annexed Honours, Emoluments and Profits, to the Profession of them, and prohibited all Opposition to them, by the most severe and cruel Penalties. Such Penalties as these, on a religious Account, I think absolutely unlawful, whether they are annexed for the Support of a true or false Religion; and therefore I have, in the ensuing History, freely censured them, and faithfully exposed them. This I find hath given great Offence, and been represented as a Design to decry and vilify all Establishments. And that I may be set right about so important a subject, as the Duty or Right of the Supream Powers to support or enforce Religion by civil Penalties, I am recommended to several Authors for my Conviction, and particularly called on to try my Skill upon Dr. Rogers's Vindication of the civil Establishment of Religion; to see, I suppose, whether I can answer his Arguments, or resist the Force of them.

Berriman's
Review,
P. 24.

P R E F A C E.

I take this Opportunity to assure my Adviser, that I have read that Book thro' with Care, and had almost finished an Answer to it before Dr. Rogers's Death; which alone prevented my publishing it, and not any fear of the Doctor's Strength, or apprehension that his Arguments were invincible: And therefore though I cannot go thro' the whole of that Subject, within the Limits of a Preface, yet I shall now make some Observations on the Doctor's Performance; which may possibly make it appear, that the Cause he pleads for is not so fully supported as may have been imagined, nor his Triumph over me so intire and compleat as hath, I know, been often represented.

I would however add one Thing here, by way of caution, that I may prevent the Noise and Outcries of furious Zealots, that I am running down all Establishments, and particularly that of the Church of England; that I would not be understood to argue absolutely against all Establishments whatsoever: This I declare is not my Intention. I shall only consider Dr. Rogers's Scheme, and endeavour to shew the Inconclusiveness of his Arguments, and the pernicious Consequences of the Doctrine he hath advanced to the Cause of Christianity, and the Interest of Religion and Truth in general. And this I hope I may do without Offence to any sober Christians, either within or without the National Establishment.

As the Doctor is long since dead, 'twould be injurious to his Memory to enter into any thing that hath been personal between us: But his Arguments I have a Right to consider; some of the principal of which I shall do with the greatest Clearness and Impartiality that I can.

The great Point which the Doctor hath laboured to vindicate, is, the civil Establishment of Religion, or the incorporating Religion into, or making it a Part of the civil Institution, by annexing civil Rewards
and

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and Encouragements to the professing it on the one hand, and civil Penalties and Discouragements to all Opposition to it, on the other. And the more effectually to support this Position, he hath advanced these two Principles, as the Foundation of his whole Work.

1. That the Nature and Ends of civil Society Page 24
require the Establishment of some Religion. *And,*

2. That there is nothing in the Nature of Re- p. 38, 39.
ligion inconsistent with such Establishment. *And when he comes to answer the Objection, that Religion is an internal Principle, not subject to human Inspection, nor to be controuled by human Authority; and that, with respect to Faith, every Man must believe according to his own Convictions, he allows that Religion, as it signifies internal Acts* p. 39.
of the Mind, Faith, Devotion, Reverence, Love of God, and Submission to his Will, &c. is a Matter purely personal, transacted immediately, and only between God and the Soul; cognizable only by God, and therefore exempt from civil Authority, and consequently incapable of being directed and prescribed by a civil Establishment: That p. 40.
these internal Principles and Dispositions can by no other moral Means be infused into the Members of Society, than by Arguments, Persuasions, and Convictions of their Judgment.

I. *The first Observation then, that I would make on the Doctor's Scheme, is, that upon his own Concessions and Principles, true Religion is incapable of being established. Religion, in its internal Acts, as it implies Faith, Devotion, Reverence, the Love of, and Submission to God, he affirms to be incapable of being directed and prescribed by civil Authority; and the Religion that he would have established, are such* p. 41.
outward Acts only, as are apparent to Men: Acts

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of Worship, and Professions of Faith. The Idea is compos'd of Professions of Faith, and Modes of Worship. In this Sense *he affirms* Religion to be a proper Subject of human Laws; *i. e. the Magistrate hath only a Right to direct and prescribe by a civil Establishment, such Professions of Faith, and Modes of Worship, as have in them no Ideas of real Faith, Devotion, Reverence, Love of God, and Submission to his Will, to recommend them: Or the Design of the civil Establishment of Religion is not to establish true Religion, but only the Doctor's Modes and Professions of Religion.*

For surely these external Professions of Faith, and Acts of Worship, which have nothing of inward Faith, Devotion, Reverence, and Love of God, to recommend them, can't constitute true and acceptable Religion. They are at best only Forms of Godliness, which when unaccompanied with Faith and true Devotion, are destitute of the Power of it. 'Tis mere bodily Exercise, that in the Scripture Language profits but little; tho' I am sensible that the greatest part of Mankind have been too much taught by their spiritual Directors to think this the whole, or by far the greatest Part of true Religion. If the Principles, which the Doctor would have the civil Magistrate establish the Profession of, should happen to be Principles of real and important Truth; if the Forms and Modes of Worship he would have prescribed should prove agreeable to the Will of God, and the Nature of Religion; yet as civil Laws can prescribe nothing farther than the mere Profession of the one, and Use of the other, and can't infuse the real Belief of the former, or Devotion and inward Reverence in complying with the latter, 'tis impossible those Laws can establish true Religion; unless any will affirm, that to profess what a Man doth not believe, or to use Modes of Worship without any inward Devotion or Reverence, is true and acceptable Religion.

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Much less can false Principles, which are subversive of the great and essential Truths of Natural and Revealed Religion; and such Modes of Worship as are in their Nature superstitious, idolatrous and impious, ever deserve the Name of Religion, or the Establishment of them be justly called the Establishment of Religion. If Mahometanism be an Imposture, the Establishment of it is the Establishment, not of Religion, but of an Imposture. If Paganism and Popery are vile and detestable Idolatry, the Establishment of them doth not alter their Nature, and can never with any Truth or Propriety be called the Establishment of Religion. 'Tis true, that in common Language we give the Name of Religion to any thing that hath relation to Deity, supposed or real, false or true: But every Man of common Sense must acknowledge, that the ascribing this Name to the Modes of Worship practised in honour of false Gods, or to superstitious and idolatrous Modes done in honour of the true God, or to such Modes as are warrantable and just, but not attended with Reverence and Faith, is only to ascribe it in an abusive Manner; and that it would be absurd to infer from the Name of Religion, thus improperly and falsely used, that there is nothing in the Nature of Religion inconsistent with an Establishment.

And yet this is the Doctor's Method of Arguing. His great Point is to prove the Expediency and Necessity of a civil Establishment of Religion, and the Magistrate's Right to establish such Religion as he thinks proper, and happens to believe, whether it be false or true. And in order to do this, he asserts that there is nothing in the Nature of Religion inconsistent with such Establishment. Now would not any one imagine, that he is here arguing from the general Nature of true Religion? This he should have done, to make his grand Inference good; because if it can be proved, that there is something in the Nature of true Religion inconsistent

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with a civil Establishment, he can never prove that the Nature and Ends of Society require such an Establishment; or that the Magistrate hath a Right to make it, unless the Ends of Society require an Impossibility, and the Magistrate hath a Right to do what is not possible to be done.

P. 31.

The Doctor frequently talks of Religion as of great Importance to the Happiness of Society; and affirms, that human Wisdom can devise no Equivalent for it; and that natural Reason would lead Men, by just Inference, to conclude the Importance of it to the Ends of Society. But what doth he mean by Religion? The genuine Principles of true Religion heartily believed, and the Worship of the true God in a becoming rational Manner? Nothing like it! He means only Professions of Faith without Faith, and Modes of Worship of any kinds without inward Devotion: For he expressly excludes Faith and Devotion out of his Establishment, and is an Advocate for the Establishment of Imposture, Superstition, and the Worship of Devils; and entitles them equally with the Worship of the true God, to the Countenance and Protection, and Support of the civil Magistrate. But surely there is something in the Nature of true Religion inconsistent with such Establishments. Had he argued that there was nothing in Professions of Faith and Modes of Worship; nothing in superstitious and idolatrous Forms, inconsistent with their Establishment; this would have been true in it self, though nothing to his main Argument. But to affirm that there is nothing in the Nature of Religion, true and acceptable Religion, inconsistent with the Establishment of it, and yet to exclude that true Faith, and Devotion of Heart and Spirit, which is the Religion and Worship the Father requires of Men; to mean by Religion, Popery, Mahometanism, Paganism, any thing, every thing, to which the Folly, Superstition and Wickedness of Men may attribute that
sacred

sacred Name ; to mean by it that which is not Religion, but either the empty Form of it, or somewhat contrary to, or subversive of it ; this is either an Imposition on his Readers, or an express Contradiction.

If in saying that there is nothing in the Nature of Religion inconsistent with an Establishment, he meant by Religion something or any thing that goes under that Name, then he doth not argue from the Nature of true Religion ; i. e. he doth not argue from the Nature of Religion at all, but from the Name or Word Religion, without any Meaning to it, or with a very bad one ; and by consequence he hath not proved that Religion is so much as capable of an Establishment ; whereby the Magistrate's Right of establishing it must remain absolutely precarious, and unsupported. If by Religion he really means true Religion ; then it must be proved that Professions of Faith without Faith, and Modes of Worship without Devotion, have the Nature of true Religion in them. If they have not, then it will be no Consequence, that because Professions of Faith and Modes of Worship may be established, that therefore there is nothing in the Nature of true Religion inconsistent with such Establishment. And thus we are still under the same Difficulty concerning the very Possibility of the Establishment of true Religion. Thus unhappy is the Doctor, in laying the Foundation of his Scheme, that in whatsoever Sense he uses Religion, it destroys his main Argument ; so far is it from strengthening and supporting it ! He hath not, he cannot prove the second great Principle he hath, or should have advanced ; That there is nothing in the Nature of TRUE Religion inconsistent with an Establishment.

But I shall be told, in answer to this, that this way of Arguing is but a common Track of Disputation p. 38.
on this Subject, and hath one great Misfortune in it ; that tho' the Premises in this Argument are very p. 39.
true, yet they are nothing to the Purpose : And
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the Doctor will lead us into unbeaten Paths, to vindicate his civil Establishment of Religion. To this Purpose he tells us: That Religion, as it signifies internal Acts of the Mind, Faith, Devotion, Reverence, Love of God, and Submission to his Will, &c. is a Matter purely personal, transacted immediately and only between God and the Soul, I readily agree, and have on all Occasions very fully asserted. But so also are Justice, Temperance, Charity, and other moral Virtues: These in their proper Notion are Acts, Habits, and Dispositions of the Mind; and as such no more subject to human Authority, than the internal Acts of Religion. But then those outward Actions, which are presumptive Evidences of such inward Dispositions of Mind, are under human Cognizance, and proper Subjects of human Laws. And in this Sense we affirm Religion to be a proper Subject of human Laws, and not as an internal and invisible Principle. But I am afraid there is one great Misfortune in all this also; and that is, that this also is nothing to the Purpose. And therefore,

II. I would observe in the next Place, that the Religion of Professions and Forms without Faith or Devotion, which the Doctor pleads for the Establishment of, is and can be of no Service to Society; and that therefore his first Position is as false as his second, viz. That the Nature and Ends of civil Society require the Establishment of some Religion. They can't require the Establishment of true Religion, because that is confessedly incapable of any Establishment: Nor can they require the Establishment of Professions and Forms without Faith or Devotion, because the Nature and Ends of civil Society can never require the Establishment of any thing that is and can be of no Benefit and Service to it.

The Doctor acknowledges, that Justice, Temperance, Charity, and other moral Virtues, as they are Acts, Habits,

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Habits, and Dispositions of the Mind, are no more subject to human Authority, than the internal Acts of Religion: *Consequently, they are incapable of Establishment by civil Laws; and therefore civil Laws can only enjoin or establish the Practice of those external Actions, which, as the Doctor tells us, have obtained* p. 41. the Name of those inward Principles and Dispositions, from which they are presumed to flow. But then as these outward Actions of Moral Virtue are prescribed as presumptive Evidences of the inward Dispositions and Habits of Virtue; the Doctor imagines, that external Professions of Faith and Modes of Worship ought also to be established, as presumptive Evidences of the inward Dispositions of Religion; and expressly asserts, that he who denies the Magistrate's Right to esta- p. 140. blish any Religion, may as reasonably deny his Right to establish Justice, Temperance, or Charity by Law; since Religion is as necessary to the Welfare of Society, as Moral Virtue. But,

(1.) *If Religion be as necessary to the Welfare of Society as Moral Virtue, it must be Religion in Truth and Reality; such a Religion, as is, in its Nature and Tendency, suited to promote the Practice of moral Virtue: Not such a Religion, as teaches Men to disregard the Obligations of moral Virtue, and sanctifies Actions contrary to Justice and Charity; because moral Virtue is confessedly necessary to the Welfare of Society; and therefore that Religion, which loosens Mens Regard to Virtue, must be absolutely prejudicial to the Interest of Society, and therefore the Magistrate can have no possible Right to establish it; unless he hath a Right to establish a Religion that is destructive of the Happiness of Society. And this Observation will effectually overthrow the best Part of the Doctor's Scheme. He asserts, and attempts to prove, that to the Magistrate, or supreme Civil* p. 161. Power, it must be left to establish such Religion as he approves. That the Magistrate in Turkey hath p. 162. just

just the same uncontrouled civil Right to establish the Religion he approves, as the Christian Magistrate. *He might have added, for he must intend it, that the Pagan Magistrate in Japan, and all other Places, hath the same uncontrouled Right to establish Paganism; because the Magistrate's Resolution doth not depend on the Truth or Falsehood of the Religion in its self, but on his Apprehensions of either. Now if this Right of the Magistrate to establish the Religion he approves, whether true or false, arises from his prior Right to provide for the publick Happiness, and because the only rational Obligation of Conscience to Moral Virtue must be derived from Religion; then the Consequence will be, either that the Magistrate can have no Right to establish any Religion but the true one, or else that the most false and corrupt Religions, which have Devils for their Object, and countenance the most immoral Practices, do enforce the Obligations of Conscience to practise moral Virtue, and are real Provisions for the publick Happiness.*

No reasonable Man, I am persuaded, will take on him to affirm, that the Worship of Jupiter, Bacchus, Venus amongst some Nations, and of Molock, Ashteroth, Dagon, amongst others, or that Superstition and Idolatry of any kind is adapted to promote the publick Happiness; because the History of all Nations and Ages, where-ever these Things have prevailed, are the fullest Demonstrations, that they have been the grand Occasions of corrupting the Morals of Mankind, and bringing down the Judgments of God upon Societies, to their utter Destruction. Thus St. Paul asserts, that because the Gentiles changed the Truth of God into a Lye, and did not like to retain God in their Knowledge, that therefore God gave them up to a reprobate Mind, to do those Things, which are not convenient; i. e. left them to the natural Consequences of their own Idolatries, which was to perpetrate the most

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p. 140.

Rom. i.
23, &c.

vile and unnatural Crimes: And had we not his Authority to enforce the Observation, History and the common Reason of Mankind would abundantly prove the Truth of it. Now how doth the Magistrate provide for the publick Happiness, by establishing such Religions as debauch the Morals of those he is to govern? Did this Christian Divine imagine, that because the Priests of Baal and Bacchus, and the like Gods, were advanced to Dignities and Riches, the publick Happiness of those Nations, who worshiped them, were abundantly provided for? Or that, to establish Patron Gods of Murder, Adultery, Fornication and Theft, is an Instance of the Magistrate's Care for the Welfare of Societies? Yes, he must have intended this; because he asserts that every Magistrate hath an uncontrouled Right to establish the Religion he approves, whether true or false, from his Right to provide for the publick Happiness.

If the Doctor did not intend this, his whole Reasoning is a Fallacy; because, if the Magistrate's Right to establish what Religion he approves, arises from his Right to provide for the publick Happiness, then he can have no Right to establish such a Religion, as doth in its Nature tend to encourage such immoral Practices as are unalterably prejudicial to the publick Happiness. And, by consequence, the Nature and Ends of Society do not require, but forbid such an Establishment; and the Magistrate in Turkey, Japan, and other Pagan Nations, hath not the same civil Right, or Right as a civil Magistrate, to establish the Religion he approves, as a Christian Magistrate to establish his Choice: Unless the good Doctor imagined, that Mahometanism, and the greatest Corruptions of Paganism, equally promote the Welfare of Society with Christianity it self. I am sorry I cannot help saying, that this appears to me to have been the Doctor's real Sentiment. For if the Magistrate's Right to provide for the publick Happiness be the Foundation

dation of his Right to establish the Religion he approves ; and if the Magistrate in Turkey and Japan hath the same Right as a civil Magistrate, to establish his Religion, as the Christian Magistrate to establish his ; then the three Religions of Mahometanism, Paganism, and Christianity, have the same Tendency to promote the publick Happiness. For if either of these Religions hath no Tendency to promote the publick Happiness, or a less Tendency than the others ; the Right of the Magistrate to establish them will be proportionably greater or less, upon the Supposition that this Right of Establishment is derived from the Right to provide for the publick Happiness. But,

(2.) When the Doctor asserts, that as the outward Actions of Moral Virtue are prescribed by civil Laws as presumptive Evidences of the inward Dispositions and Habits of Virtue ; so external Professions of Faith, and Modes of Worship, may also be established as the presumptive Evidences of the inward Dispositions of Religion ; he must surely forget himself. And should I allow him this, it will effectually overturn his whole Scheme. For if the Argument be good, it stands thus : The outward Actions of moral Virtue, the outward Actions of Justice, Temperance and Charity, are established as presumptive Evidences of the inward Disposition and Habits of Justice, Temperance and Charity, and not as presumptive Evidences of inward Dispositions and Habits, that differ from, or are contrary to these Virtues ; not as presumptive Evidences of the inward Dispositions of Injustice, Intemperance, and Uncharitableness. And in like manner Religion, in the external Professions of Faith, and Modes of Worship, may be established, as presumptive Evidences : Of what ? Why of rational Faith in, and sincere Devotion to God ; and not as presumptive Evidences of an impious Belief, and false Worship. In the Doctor's Parallel, the outward Acts of real Virtue answer to the external Acts

of Religion; and the internal Habits of real Virtue, to the internal Habits of Religion. And by consequence, to make the Parallel exact, and the Reasoning good, he must understand by Religion external and internal Religion as truly such, as he doth by Virtue the external Acts, and inward Habits of real Virtue: Otherwise his Proof will be weak and defective; since it can never follow, that because the Magistrate may establish the external Acts of real Virtue, as presumptive Evidences of the inward Habits of such Virtue, that therefore he may establish the external Acts of a false Religion, as the presumptive Evidences of an idolatrous and superstitious Disposition. By consequence the Doctor's Scheme of Establishment must fall to the Ground.

He was pleased to turn Advocate for the Establishment of Mahometanism, Paganism, Popery, and all the Religions of the World that ever have been, or ever shall be approved by the Magistrate. And he pleads for the Magistrate's Right to establish the external Professions of them, from his Right to establish the external Acts of real Virtue: Whereas, the only true Inference, if any, that can be drawn from hence, is; that therefore he may establish the external Acts of true and acceptable Religion, and not the external Acts of somewhat that is not Religion, but contrary to, and subversive of it. The Doctor should have shown that the Magistrate may establish the outward Acts of Justice, Temperance and Charity; or rather, the outward Acts of Cruelty, Leudness, Drunkenness and Uncharitableness, as presumptive Evidences of such inward Dispositions; and then, indeed, it might have followed, that he had the same uncontrollable Right to establish the Professions of a false Faith, and the Modes of an idolatrous and impious Worship, as presumptive Evidences of answerable Dispositions: Or that the Magistrates in Turkey and Japan have the same uncontrollable civil Right to establish the external Profession of their Impostures and
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Impieties, as the Christian Magistrate to establish the pure and acceptable Worship of the true God, by Jesus Christ. When I see the Premises allowed me, by any sound and orthodox Divines of the Establishment, I promise them I will not dispute with them the Consequence. But,

(3.) What the Doctor urges about the external Actions of Virtue being established as presumptive Evidences of the inward Habits of it, is a mere Imagination of his own, that hath neither Law nor Experience to support it. Civil Laws relate to the external Action only; and if Men be just and sober in their external Behaviour, I suppose the Demand of the Laws, prescribing these Actions, is complied with, whatever be the internal Habit or Disposition; and that the Protection of the Laws will not be denied to such Persons, because some impertinent Censurer may affirm the internal Habits of these Virtues were wanting. And, on the other hand, if a Man thieves, whores, and rebels, I apprehend the civil Laws will reach him, tho' he should pretend ever so solemnly that he had the internal Habits of Honesty, Chastity, and Loyalty. And tho' I do not pretend to be much acquainted with Acts of Parliament, yet I believe I may venture to affirm, that they speak little or nothing about inward Habits, and presumptive Evidences; at least I have never seen any of these curious Acts of Parliament, that enjoin Charity, or prescribe the outward Actions of any one Virtue as the presumptive Evidence of an inward Habit corresponding with it. And by consequence the Doctor's Reasoning is just as inconclusive here, as in the former Instances; since if the civil Magistrate doth not prescribe the external Acts of Virtue as presumptive Evidences of the inward Habits of it, so neither will any Reasons from hence justify him, in directing and prescribing Modes and Creeds as presumptive Evidences of the inward Principles and Dispositions of Religion.

(4.) What

(4.) *What is a worse Misfortune in the Doctor's Argument, is: That the very external Acts of Virtue will certainly preserve the Peace and Welfare of Societies, even tho' the internal Habits of Virtue should be wanting; for which Reason they are proper Subjects of human Laws: Whereas the bare external Professions of Faith, and the Use of prescribed Forms of Worship, are of themselves no Security to Societies; and the only Advantage that even true Religion can derive to Societies, is the inward Belief, Disposition and Habit of it. And therefore tho' the prescribing the external Acts of Virtue be necessary to the Welfare of Societies; yet the Establishment of external Creeds and Modes, without Faith and Devotion of Soul, is the Establishment of something, by which alone the Welfare of Society can never be effectually promoted. The civil Laws of every Society are, or should be designed to guard and secure the publick Peace; and they prohibit Theft, Rebellion, Murder, and other Crimes, because these external Actions are always necessarily inconsistent with the general Welfare: And whosoever complies with the Laws, who doth what they injoin him, or forbears what they forbid him, doth thereby effectually contribute to the publick Good, and is in the Eye of the Law a good Subject, whatever be the internal Principles he acts on; yea, though he hath not one single virtuous Disposition or Habit belonging to him. So that in this Case, 'tis the very external Behaviour, the outward Acts of Virtue, and those alone, that maintain the Order and Welfare of Society, even when the inward Habits of Virtue are wanting.*

But in the Affair of Religion, the Case is perfectly the reverse. The external Form, separated from the Belief and inward Habits of Religion, is not of the least Advantage to Society: The hearty Assent to it, and the inward prevailing Sense of it; the actual Fear of God, real Devotion, and fervent Love possessing and influ-

encing the very Heart and Conscience ; these are great Ties upon Mens Minds, and some of the noblest Securities of their good Behaviour to the civil Magistrate. A Man under the Awes of these Principles dares not be unjust, or leud, or any ways vitious ; tho' there were no civil Laws to restrain him from these Actions. And here the Doctor himself shall be my Voucher : For, says he, Religion, internal Religion, as it signifies a Belief, Reverence, and Love of an infinitely just, powerful, omniscient Being, is a Principle the most effectual to promote and secure the Ends and Interests of Society. If this be acknowledged, of what Benefit to Societies are the Doctor's Forms and Professions, that have neither Faith nor Devotion ? A Man professes his Belief of a certain Creed, and is very dextrous and exact in the Posture-part of Religion ; therefore he won't be unjust, or an Whoremonger, or a Traitor : Ridiculous, to imagine it ! if his Profession is without Faith, and his Postures without Devotion. And therefore if any Consequence can be drawn, concerning Religion, 'tis this : That if the Necessity of Moral Virtue, as to the outward Acts of it, to the Ends of Society, is a just Reason for the Magistrate to direct and prescribe such outward Actions ; therefore, since the inward Belief and Habits of Religion are equally necessary to the Ends of Society, or to give a due Effect and Influence to the Laws of a Community, the Magistrate hath an equally just Reason to direct and prescribe them. But the inward Faith, the internal Habits of Religion, that internal Religion, which he affirms to be a Principle the most effectual to promote and secure the Ends and Interests of Society, the Doctor allows is exempt from all civil Authority, and incapable of being prescribed by a civil Establishment. So that all that the good Man is contending for, is, that the Magistrate hath a Right to establish, not that which is the most effectual to promote

mote and secure the Ends and Interests of Society, but that which can't be any ways effectual to promote these Ends. But whether this be a good Argument for national Establishments, I must leave to more critical Enquirers to determine; as well as whether the appropriating Honours, Lands, and large Revenues, for the Support of such Establishments, which this great Advocate for them confesses do not, and cannot most effectually promote and secure the Interests of Society, be consistent with true Politicks, and the Welfare and Prosperity of a Nation.

The turning Point in this Argument is: What the Welfare of Society depends on, or what the Interests and Ends of Society require: And the only Inference that can be drawn, is, that what the Interests and Ends of Society require, that the civil Magistrate ought to establish. Now if the Peace of the Society is maintained by the external Acts of Virtue, tho' the inward Habits of it be wanting; and if the external Acts of what is called Religion have not the least Tendency to secure the Ends of Society, without the inward Belief and Habits of it, then the Doctor's Reasoning must be absolutely false; that because the Ends of Society require the Establishment of the former, therefore they do also of the latter. That every Man ought to be just, and chaste, and loyal in his external Behaviour, is evident; because, otherwise, the good Order of Societies can't be maintained: And therefore Men may, very reasonably, be compelled by Laws to the Observance of these Virtues, and punished if they break the Laws that injoin them. But the requiring a Man, by civil Laws, to profess Principles without Faith, and to use Ceremonies without Devotion, is requiring him to do something which contributes nothing to the publick Welfare; since that Faith and Devotion, which the Doctor excludes from his Establishment, are the only Things in Religion which have any Tendency to promote and secure the Ends and Interests of Society. And therefore 'tis not true,

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what the Doctor asserts, that he who denies the Magistrate's Right to establish the external Forms and Professions of any Religion, doth in effect deny his Right to provide for the publick Happiness, and may as reasonably deny his Right to establish Justice, Temperance, and Charity, by Law ; because external Religion, without Faith and Devotion, is not as necessary to the Welfare of Society as the external Acts of moral Virtue, without the inward Dispositions and Habits of it ; and because the only rational Obligation of Conscience to these external Acts of Virtue is not derived from these outward Acts of Religion, but from that internal Religion which is allowed incapable of an Establishment. Now it seems very strange, that the Magistrate should have no Right to establish that which would prove of the highest Advantage to Society, and yet have a Right to establish somewhat which can't conduce to this valuable End.

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I am very much of the Doctor's Opinion, in what he says : It is certainly to be wished, that in every Society all the Members had these internal Dispositions ; had Principles of Justice, Charity, &c. and, as the surest Foundation of these Virtues, that they believed, and feared a supreme Being, the Judge of their Actions, and the Disposer of their Happiness. But as these internal Principles and Dispositions can by no other moral Means be infused into them, than by Arguments, Persuasion, and Conviction of their Judgment ; he insists, that the outward Actions, expressive of these Dispositions, are within the Reach and Inspection of civil Authority, and a proper Matter of social Laws. But I think this Observation, as it regards Religion, can't be just : For, would the Doctor have these outward Actions prescribed by Law, where there are no inward Dispositions to answer to them ? Would he have Men obliged by civil Penalties to subscribe to Forms of Faith without be-

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believing them, and to use Modes of Worship without Devotion? Is not this to prescribe Hypocrisy and Wickedness, by Law? Is it not ordering Men to make light of the most solemn Subscriptions, and teaching them by Law to evade even the Force and Obligation of Oaths? And is this to answer the Ends of Society? This the Care which the Magistrate owes to the publick Good?

If indeed the Establishment of these external Actions was a proper Means to infuse the internal Principles; if the establishing the Worship of a false God had any Tendency to promote the Belief, Reverence and Love of the true God; or the enjoining Superstition was the way to beget true inward Devotion; then the Doctor's Arguing would be right, that the Magistrate in all Places might command such external Actions of Religion, true or false, as he approves: But the Doctor absolutely denies that the internal Principles of Religion can be infused by any other moral Means than Argument, Persuasion, and Conviction. Therefore they can't be infused by establishing outward Forms and Professions: And, by consequence, the establishing the external Actions is establishing somewhat that doth not give one single presumptive Evidence of the inward Habits and Dispositions; and which hath not so much as a Tendency to promote them.

To conclude this Head: There is this Fallacy, in the whole Course of the Doctor's Reasoning, from the Right of the Magistrate to enjoin by Law the external Acts of Virtue, to his Right of prescribing the external Acts of Religion: That he supposes the external Acts of Virtue and the external Acts of Religion to be equally necessary to the Ends of Society, and to be equally enjoined as presumptive Evidences of inward Dispositions answering to them: Whereas, in truth, the external Acts of Virtue are prescribed by Law for their own Sakes, and because civil Society can't subsist without them; and not as presumptive Evidences of internal Dispositions: Whereas

the external Acts of Religion are not prescribed for themselves, or because Society can't subsist without them; but, as the Doctor tells us, as presumptive Evidences of internal Religion, from which they may be separated, often are, and which the Establishment of them hath confessedly no moral Tendency to produce. The civil Laws of Society, establishing the external Acts of Virtue, are wise and just; because those Laws can accomplish the End they aim at, or produce the Actions they injoin. But to injoin certain external Actions, called Religion, as presumptive Evidences of answerable internal Dispositions, is to injoin somewhat that civil Laws can never accomplish, because they can't reach the internal Disposition. And therefore, tho' the prescribing the external Acts of Virtue by civil Laws is a very reasonable and necessary Thing; yet it doth not follow, from hence, that the prescribing the external Actions of Religion is equally reasonable and necessary.

(5.) *And tho' I hope I have a real Regard for true Religion, and an equal Regard for Christianity, at least with those who are for establishing it upon a Scheme, that must necessarily exclude it out of most Parts of the World: And tho' I very freely acknowledge that the inward Belief and Dispositions of true Religion are highly serviceable to Societies; yet I think the Doctor can never prove that Religion, in any Sense of the Word, is, as he asserts, necessary to give a due Effect and Influence to all Laws of the Community, and to assert the Obligation of moral Virtue itself; much less equally necessary with the external Acts of moral Virtue. For if the Welfare of Society may be maintained by the external Acts of Virtue alone, but can't be maintained merely by Religion without this Virtue; then the former can't be equally necessary with the latter, nor the Establishment of the one equally reasonable with the other.*

If, by Religion, the Doctor means the Belief of the true God, and inward Love, Reverence, and Devotion to him; yet to me it seems too much to affirm, that even this is necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue. The Obligation of moral or social Virtue arises, as I apprehend, from the Nature of Things themselves; the common Relation of Men to each other, and the absolute Necessity of it to the Peace and Welfare of Societies, and the particular Happiness of every Individual belonging to them: And if there be any divine Revelation that commands the Practice of moral Virtue, one Reason must be because of its Tendency to social Happiness. So that the Tendency of moral Virtue to social Happiness, or in other Words, its Reasonableness and Obligation, doth not arise merely from a divine Command injoining it, or from any Principles even of true Religion, how much soever those Principles may enforce and strengthen the Practice of it. The Obligation therefore to moral Virtue, as it is prior to all Revelation, so is it independent of the proper Principles of Religion; and may therefore subsist without them, even where there are no internal Principles of true Faith and Devotion.

And though true Religion, when heartily believed, gives a noble Effect and Influence to the Laws of a Community; yet I think 'tis very evident that there are many, in all Societies, who can't, in the largest Charity, be supposed to have any internal Principles of the Love and Fear of God, who yet make tolerably good Members of Society, by shewing a constant Regard to those social Duties of moral Virtue, on which the Peace and Happiness of all Societies do certainly depend: And the very annexing Penalties to the Breach of civil Laws injoining Justice, and the like social Virtues, is a Demonstration what the Sense of all Societies in this Matter is; and that they think that civil Sanctions will preserve the publick Peace, either where the believed Principles of Religion will not, or where the Belief of those Principles

is intirely wanting. So that I may reasonably conclude, contrary to the Doctor's Scheme, that tho' the Principles of true Religion, inwardly believed, are of great Benefit to Society; yet that they are not, in the Nature of Things, absolutely necessary to give a due Effect and Influence to all the Laws of a Community, any more than they are to assert the Obligations even of moral Virtue. And my Inference from hence is, that the same Reasons which justify the Magistrate in prescribing the external Acts of moral or social Virtue, will not justify him in prescribing Religion, even in the true Sense of it; because the external Acts of moral Virtue are essentially necessary to the publick Happiness, and will secure it: Whereas Religion is not, in the Nature of the Thing, necessary to it; because the Practice of social Virtue may be maintained without it.

Much less are the Doctor's Forms and Professions of Religion, which he would have established without Faith or Devotion, necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue, or to give a due Influence and Effect to all the Laws of a Community: And yet this is what he should have proved, in order to vindicate the Magistrate's Right to establish these Forms and Professions. If real, true internal Religion, was necessary to these great Purposes, methinks the Consequence should be the Establishment of such internal Religion: But if this internal Religion be incapable of Establishment, what signifies the Establishment of the Professions and Forms of it? What Dependance have the Obligations of moral Virtue upon them? What good Effect hath the injoining them, to promote the Ends of Society? To make Professions of Faith without believing, and to use Forms of Devotion without any Devotion, is not Religion, but contrary to true Religion. By consequence, to assert that the Obligations of moral Virtue, and the due Influence and Effect of all the Laws of a Community depend on Religion, and yet that they depend on the Forms and

and Professions of Religion without Faith or Devotion, is to assert that they depend on Religion, and yet that they do not depend on Religion, but on something very different from true Religion. And yet the Doctor must affirm that the Obligations of moral Virtue, and the due Effect of all civil Laws, depend on external Professions and Forms, without Faith or Devotion; or else his whole Reasoning, from the Obligations of Virtue, and the Effect of civil Laws, to the Magistrate's Right to establish these kinds of Forms and Professions, is absolutely inconclusive and ineffectual.

Thus far have I argued, upon the strongest Supposition, that, by Religion, the Doctor means true Religion; and, by the Professions and Forms of Religion, such Professions and Forms as are agreeable to the Nature of true Religion. But in how miserable a Light will the Doctor's Reasoning appear, when we apply it to merely human Forms and Professions; the Professions of a false Religion, and the impious Forms of Superstition and Idolatry? For thus runs his Argument: If the Necessity of moral Virtue, to the Ends of a Society, is a just Reason for the Magistrate to prescribe such outward Actions as are presumptive Evidences of it; since Religion is equally necessary to those Ends; necessary to give a due Effect and Influence to all the Laws of a Community, and to assert the Obligation of moral Virtue it self; the same Reasons will justify him, in directing and prescribing such Actions, as are presumptive Evidences of that Principle. He means here the Magistrate in general, in Turkey, Japan, and all other Places; whatever be the Religion they establish, whether true or false, as he expressly asserts.

My Reader, I think, must be astonished at this Doctrine, delivered by one that professed himself a Christian and Protestant Divine, to see the Obligations of moral Virtue thus given up, and placed upon the most
whim-

whimsical, precarious, false and wicked Foundations, for this only Reason; that of vindicating the Emoluments and Profits attending the civil Establishment of Religion.

The Point the Doctor aims to prove, is, That “ the “ Magistrate of every Community hath a Right to pre- “ scribe such external Acts of the Religion that he ap- “ proves, as are presumptive Evidences of the inward “ Principles of it.” And the Reason by which he sup- ports his Argument, is this: “ That Religion is ne- “ cessary to give a due Effect and Influence to all Laws “ of the Community, and to assert the Obligations of “ moral Virtue itself :” i. e. That every Religion, which every Magistrate establishes, is necessary to assert the Obligations of Virtue, and to give a due Effect to the Laws of Society.

For instance: The Athanasian Creed; the going down of Christ into Hell: That we have no Power to do good Works; that Works done before Grace, have the Nature of Sin: That the Church hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith: That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, &c. hath not any Thing that is of it self superstitious and ungodly: Singing of Prayers, Musick of Organs, Bowing at the Name of Jesus, Godfathers, and the Cross in Baptism, Surplices with Sleeves, University-Hoods, and the like, are the Professions and Forms established in England; and therefore because these Professions and Forms are necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue, &c. and are the presumptive Evidences of Religion; the Magistrate, it seems, hath an equal Right to establish them, as to establish the Acts of moral Virtue.

Again: Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the Worship of Images, dead Bodies, Relicks, and the like Follies and

Idolatrics, are the Forms and Professions established in Italy, Spain, France, and other Catholick Countries; and the Magistrate in those Places too hath a Right to establish these external Acts as presumptive Evidences of the Religion he approves, because also these Forms and Professions of Falsehood and Idolatry are necessary to assert the very Obligations of moral Virtue.

Once more : The Religion of Mahomet we Christians say is an Imposture; and therefore the Forms and Professions, peculiar to Mahometanism, are the Forms and Professions of a Religion that is an Imposture. But yet the Magistrate in Turkey has just the same p. 162. *uncontrouled Right to establish the Religion he approves, as the Christian Magistrate hath to establish his Choice; because the Forms and Professions of his Imposture are, in the Doctor's Scheme, necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue : i. e. The Obligations of moral Virtue depend upon an Imposture.*

And in like manner the Emperors of ancient Rome had the same uncontrouled Right to establish the Religion they approved, as the Christian Magistrate afterwards had to establish his Choice. They had a Right to establish, that an incestuous, adulterous Jupiter, a drunken Bacchus, a wanton Venus, a thieving Mercury, the very Devil himself, should be owned as Gods; and that the Forms of their Worship should consist in drunken Feasts, and the most leud and impure Mysteries. They had THE SAME UNCON- TROULED RIGHT to establish these false Gods, and these abominable and unnatural Methods of worship- ing them, even as a Christian Magistrate to prescribe the Worship of the one true God, and to entitle this their accursed Religion to publick Favour, AND TO PROTECTION FROM PUBLICK OPPOSITION; be- cause also all these Forms and Professions, or the Reli- gion they were to be presumptive Evidences of, were
necessary,

necessary, in the Doctor's Judgment, to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue: i. e. The Obligations of moral Virtue depend on the professing of Adulterers, Whores, Thieves and Devils, to be Gods; the Obligations of Justice depend on Thieving, of Chastity upon Whoring, and of Sobriety upon Drunkenness.

If this be true; O Virtue, how precarious and weak are thy Obligations! But will ye assert, O ye Christian Divines, ye Ministers of the established Church, that Virtue hath no other Foundations but these? This is the Doctrine publicly taught by your once Reverend Brother, Doctor Rogers; and being dead, he yet speaketh, by the Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Religion he hath left behind him. Tell me not, that I misrepresent his Doctrine: His very Argument asserts it; and his whole Fabrick of the civil Establishment of Religion tumbles to the Ground without it. For if it be a Reason why the Magistrate in England, Turkey, Japan, and in every Place of the World, ought to establish the Religion he approves, because Religion is necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue; then that Religion, which he approves, is and must be thus necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue. But if the Religion of old or modern Rome, of Turkey and Japan, be not necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue, then the Magistrate in those Places will not be justified in directing and prescribing such Religions; because the very Reason he gives for this Right of the Magistrate, is, the Necessity of Religion to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue: And, by farther consequence, the Establishment of such Religions can never be necessary to give a due Effect and Influence to all the Laws of a Community directing the outward Acts of moral Virtue; because that which is not necessary to assert the Obligations of moral Virtue, can never be absolutely necessary to give a due Influence and Effect to the Laws that injoin it.

To conclude this Head: Moral Virtue will be Moral Virtue, and its Obligations strong and unchangeable, from its necessary Influence to promote the Peace of Societies, and from the mutual Relation to, and Dependance on each other, that is common to all the Members of a Community, whether there be any such Thing as an established Religion or not; or which soever of the Religions, now established in the World, be true or false. That any particular Religion is not necessary, even so much as to give a due Effect and Influence to the Laws of a Community, is evident, because civil Laws have had their due Influence and Effect amongst different Nations, that have embraced very different and contrary Religions. Under Judaism, Paganism, Christianity and Mahometanism, civil Society hath been supported; and is to this Day, amongst the many different Sorts of Religions that obtain in the World. And the Truth is, that 'tis not this, or the other different external Form of Religion, as such, that gives any Effect and Influence to the civil Laws of a Community; so much as that one Principle, which is more or less imprinted by Nature on the Hearts of all Men; viz. that God, some invisible Being so called, is the Avenger of Falsehood, Perjury, and Vice. If the Members of Society do not believe this, no Forms or Professions of Religion can have any possible Hold on their Minds, nor procure from them any Obedience to human Laws. And if this Principle be fixed in them, and duly attended to, it will of it self give a real Effect and good Influence to such Laws amongst all Nations; whether or no any particular Form of Religion be received by them, or tho' many different Forms and Professions should be allowed or practised in the same Society.

And I think I am for once so happy, as to have Doctor Rogers with me in this Sentiment. For thus he argues: Reason would tell such, as could make^{p. 28.} any tolerable Use of it, that without Religion their Society would want its strongest Cement, and all social

social Virtues their strongest Obligation. Those to whom the Authority and Government of the Society should be committed, could not but perceive what Advantage it would be, in the Discharge of their Office, to be assured of the Fidelity and Duty of their Subjects, from Principles of Conscience, and an Apprehension of God's Displeasure. And what could be more desirous to the Subjects, than that their Governors, who had no Superiors on Earth, should acknowledge one in Heaven, and be restrained from any injurious Abuse of their Power, by the Dread of a Being, whom no Cunning could elude, no Power resist? To every Man Reason would suggest, that nothing could so effectually promote amongst Men that mutual Trust and Confidence in each other, Justice and Veracity, which the Ends of Society require, as a Presumption that each acted under the Awe of a supreme Being. *The Principle here mentioned by the Doctor, is no more than the Belief of a God, of almighty Power and infinite Wisdom, concerned to punish the Crimes of both Magistrates and Subjects. The acting under the Awe of such a Being, he thinks Reason would suggest, as the most effectual Means to promote that mutual Confidence and Trust that the Ends of Society require.*

But when he asks, by what outward Evidences could Men assure each other that they believed and feared an almighty, omniscient Judge, the Avenger of all Injustice and Falsehood? and answers, I know none but an open Profession and Observance of some Religion: I can't but think that his Inference is wrong; if he means the Profession and Observance of any particular Religion, as distinct from all others. For instance, how is a Man's professing to believe in Mahomet, an Impostor, in Mercury, the God of Thieving, or in Venus, the Patroness of Whores, necessary

necessary to give any outward Evidence that he believes and fears an almighty Judge, the Avenger of Injustice and Falsehood? Or how doth it follow, that because a Man subscribes to certain Articles, wears a square Cap at Chapel, or bows at the Name of Jesus, that therefore he gives evidence that he acts under the Awe of a supreme Being? All civilized Nations have thought it a sufficient presumptive Evidence that Men act under this Awe, when they solemnly acknowledge such a supreme Being, and actually appeal to him as the Avenger of Injustice and Falsehood. So that tho' it should be acknowledged, that this general Principle of Religion may be greatly conducive, or even sometimes necessary to give civil Laws their due Effect and Influence; yet it will by no Means follow, that the establishing of this or the other external Form, or of any Form exclusive of others, is necessary or conducive to this End. It rather proves that all Religions, that inculcate this Principle, ought to be protected by the civil Magistrate; and that all who profess to believe it should, for this Reason alone, be intitled to all the Privileges of Society.

III. *I would observe, that the Doctor himself allows this Reasoning to be just: For he says, the Idea of an* p. 77. *Establishment doth not necessarily imply a Confinement to one Religion; and therefore, to use his own words, this Reason will extend to ten Sects of* p. 104. *Religion, as well as to one. And as one Part of the Establishment he pleads for, are Allotments of Support and Favour, ascertained and confirmed by Law; what Reason can there be why the Magistrate should not ascertain these Allotments of Support and Favour to all his Subjects, whatever be their particular Form of Religion, provided they give him the Security that they believe in this almighty Judge; since he confesses that the Nature of an Establishment doth not necessarily confine Allotments of Support and Favour to one Scheme of Religion? This Concession, which the* p. 85. *Nature of the Thing, and the Evidence of the*
Truth,

Truth, hath extorted from the Doctor, abundantly shews, that the Interests of Society do not require the exclusive Establishment of any particular Religion; and that Societies may enjoy all the Advantages of Religion, without confining those excellent Appendages, those Acts of Munificence, those Measures of Favour, and Allotments of Support, which he pleads for, to any one particular Form and Profession whatsoever.

p. 85. If the Idea of an Establishment doth not necessarily imply a Confinement to one Religion, I would fain know what Idea then doth? Is it the Magistrate's Idea, or the Priest's? If Doctor Rogers had been to advise the Magistrate, he would have told him, that tho' these Advantages of Preference may be extended to more than one Scheme of Religion; yet he presumes Reasons of Prudence will generally determine for the Establishment of but one. So that 'tis the Doctor's Idea, and the Doctor's Idea of Prudence, that is for confining Acts of Munificence to one Religion, even after he hath confessed that Advantages of Preference may be extended to more. I think it would have been the stronger way of Arguing, to have inferred such Confinement either from the Idea of Religion, or the Idea of an Establishment, than from any private Idea of the Doctor's Prudence; which I cannot help condemning, as a little too selfish and partial; since he is in Prudence for turning out all Religions but his own, from the Magistrate's Allotment of Support and Favour, and for having no body share in the publick Acts of Munificence but himself and Friends. I am sorry the Doctor's Religion was so very touchy and envious, as not to endure the Magistrate's Favour to shine on any other; and that his Prudence was so extremely cautious, as to confine all Acts of Munificence to the Idea of his own Religion, when the Idea of an Establishment did not require it.

I think, however, this Concession will intirely overthrow the Doctor's Argument. For if there be nothing in the Idea of an Establishment to confine it to one Religion, I am sure there is nothing in the Idea of the Doctor's Religion to be established, which was a purely external one, to confine it; every Scheme of Worship and Faith being as capable of Establishment, as any one. Nor is there any Thing in the Idea of Society, or the Welfare of Society, that should persuade such Confinement. If the Society be of different Religions, the Idea of such a Society seems, as far as Justice and Equity can be allowed good Reasons, to be a solid Reason why those several Religions, or rather the Persons professing them, should be intitled to the Magistrate's Support and Favour. For by such an impartial Procedure Envy and ill Blood would be prevented between the several Members of the Society, every Man would be easy in the Profession of his own Religion, and the whole Society would receive all the Advantages that Religion could possibly derive on Society. Nor, lastly, is there any Thing, in the Idea of Magistracy, or any rightful Power belonging to it, that makes such a confined Establishment necessary. For, I apprehend, that the Power of the Magistrate is, or ought to be bounded, by the Reason of Things, the Ends of Society, and the Nature of Religion: And, of consequence, since there is nothing in the Idea of all these Things, there can be nothing in the Idea of Magistracy, for the confining the Magistrate's Favour and Support to the Professors of but one Religion. So that as there is nothing in the Idea of the Doctor's Establishment, Religion, Society or Magistracy, to confine the Magistrate's Favour and Support to only one Religion, or to extend Advantages of Preference to one; it may be extended to two, and for the same Reason to two and twenty, and therefore to all the particular Religions of a Society; i. e. in other Words, there is no Reason for any exclusive Establishment

ment at all, except it be the Doctor's Idea of Prudence.

I can conceive but two Reasons of Prudence, that will generally determine for the Establishment of but one; which are, that by this Method the Clergy of such an Establishment will grow rich and powerful, and the Magistrate may sometimes more effectually make use of them, to subserve any Purposes he may have in view, and wants proper Helps to accomplish. As the Doctor hath not specified what his Reasons of Prudence are, I must take notice of those which naturally occur to me: Nor can I devise any other, than these two. As to the first, I doubt not but the Clergy of all Sorts love Riches and Power, and will highly extol the Wisdom and Prudence of any Prince and State, that will gratify them in such Desires. But,

Dicite, Pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?

Whether the Interests of Religion, the Liberties of Mankind, and the Welfare of Societies have best prospered, when the Church, i. e. the Clergy, have been most triumphant in these Blessings, let the Experience of former Ages, and the Observation of every thoughtful Man in our own, determine. I'll not enter into the Detail, lest I should be charged with bitter Virulence against the Clergy; but beg leave to propose, whether any Reasons of Prudence would engage a wise Magistrate, or a cautious Society, to intrust a Body of Men, by their Pretensions and Offices different from the rest of the Society, big with Notions of heavenly Embassies, divine Missions, apostolical Successions, Powers of Remission and Absolution, and the like Claims, with large Shares of Power and Riches; which they have in fact oftentimes made use of to raise Factions, Seditions, and Rebellions in the State; to enslave Mankind, and to curb and destroy the rightful Powers of the civil Magistrate

gistrate himself. *Reasons of Prudence* would rather direct narrowly to inspect the Manners, and watch the Motions of such a dangerous Combination; as the Necessities of Government have oftentimes forced the Magistrate to humble their Ambition, to pare their Incomes, and clip their Wings.

Tho' a good Minister, or Clergyman, who is faithful to his Prince, a Friend to his Country's Liberties, exemplary in his Life, and faithful in the Discharge of the Duties of his Function, by encouraging Virtue and Piety, Benevolence and Charity, deserves all the Support necessary to his Success in this great Work, and will secure the Love and Esteem of all wise and good Men; yet when those who call themselves the Ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and the sacred Ministers of Religion, are so thoroughly under the Power of an earthly Mind, as to plead for the confining the great Advantages of Societies to themselves only, and the very Rights of Subjects to those of their own Completion and Persuasion; when they are for branding all others with Marks of Incapacity and Infamy, and leaving them under the dreadful Weight of negative and positive Penalties; thoughtful Persons will with too much Justice believe, that tho' the Establishment of Religion be the Thing pleaded for, the real Design is to establish themselves; and that Religion is only valuable, in their Account, according to the secular Advantages and Profits, which the Profession of it may secure them.

And if one may guess, by the Doctor's Argument, these were amongst the Reasons of Prudence, which he thinks will generally determine for the Establishment of but one Religion. For, what is the whole Design of his Book, but to vindicate the civil Establishment of Religion, in every Nation, whatsoever it be? i. e. to vindicate the appropriating Riches, Honours, and Powers, to the Clergy of every established Religion, true or false, throughout the World; and the subjecting the Members of every

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Society to negative and positive Penalties, who can't subscribe and conform to the publick Professions and Rites; and even the depriving them of a Toleration, if the Magistrate or Majority thinks fit. But can this be any Argument of his Love to Religion, or his Zeal for Christianity? Can the Man, who even in a Christian Country, pleads against the very Toleration of Christianity amongst Mahometan and Pagan Nations, and expressly affirms, that where a false Religion happens to be established, it must always continue so, till they who have Authority to repeal it are convinced that it ought not to be established; can such a Man be a Friend to Christianity, any farther than 'tis the established Religion of his Country, and gives him a legal Property in the Privileges and Advantages annexed to the Profession of it? I leave others to judge upon what Principles this publick Advocate for the exclusive Establishment of Paganism, Mahometanism and Popery, in those Countries where the Magistrate happens to be a Friend to either of them, can himself be a real Friend to Christianity and Protestantism. But I envy no one the Honour of being a Champion for such a Cause, nor the Clergy such an Advocate for their Riches and Power.

However, let him not argue from the Nature of Religion, nor from the Advantages of Religion to Societies; when the Preference he pleads for, is not that true Religion should be preferred to the false, but that the Clergy of a false Religion should be preferred to those of the true, when the Magistrate thinks fit; and that the Professors of a true Religion should be denied the publick Allotments of Support and Favour, the common Protection and Rights of Subjects, and even the Benefits of a Toleration, tho' they can give, and are willing to give all the Security of Religion to the Society for their good Behaviour, if the civil Power or Majority should so determine; and that he himself only, and his Friends,
should

should be admitted, good Men, to all the Preferments, Honours and Profits, thro'out all his Majesty's Dominions. But, for God's sake, how is this deriving on Societies those Advantages of Religion, for which human Wisdom can devise no Equivalent? Is not his whole Book calculated to derive all the Advantages of Religion, in one Sense, to himself and Party? Is it not his express Doctrine, that the Magistrate may deny Societies the Advantages of Religion, by excluding Men from the Privileges and Rights of Society; and denying them a Toleration, even when they can give the most genuine Proofs of their hearty Belief of, and Submission to its Principles? Is not this really making true Religion oftentimes an extremely criminal Thing; and, considering the State of the World, generally a very dangerous one? He is for deriving the Advantages of Religion on Societies, only by deriving those Advantages on one Part of every Society, and by inflicting positive and negative Penalties on the other Part for their very Adherence to Religion; i. e. by denying Societies the Advantages of Religion, and not suffering them to take the Security of it, from many who are best able and most willing to give it. This seems to have been one of the Instances of the Doctor's admirable Prudence.

But if the Reasons of Prudence which he mentions, be derived from the political Views of the civil Magistrate, who by having the Disposal of the Riches, Honours, Emoluments and Profits, annexed to the Profession of the established Religion, will probably often have it in his Power to make those to whom they are allotted and confined very tractable, and subservient to his political Designs; all I have to say, is, that I pity that Clergy which lie under such Obligations, and who for the sake of secular Advantages so much debase their sacred Character, as to be employed as Agents and Tools to carry on the political and secular Views of even the greatest and mightiest on Earth.

What is this too, amongst those Advantages which Religion derives on Societies, and for which human Wisdom can devise no Equivalent? I need not tell the World what Use hath been generally made of them, nor what Purposes have been promoted by their Influence: I forbear to make any Reflections upon so ungrateful a Subject; and shall only add, that if the Doctor had any other Reasons of Prudence than these, he would have been but just to himself and his Cause to have mentioned them. But,

p. 84.

IV. *I would farther observe, that tho' the Doctor declares himself to be, in some Respects, for a Toleration of Religions different from the established; yet that his Scheme gives a Licence to, and justifies all the Measures of the severest Persecution. Thus he tells us, that the Magistrate owes Protection to all: But 'tis a Protection in their legal Rights; i. e. in those Rights only, which the Laws of the Society they live amongst intitle them to. For he adds: Of these Rights the Law is the Measure; and if any Subject will claim Rights without or against Law, or a Liberty of invading or with-holding the legal Rights of others, the Magistrate owes him no Protection in these Claims: On the contrary, the Protection he owes to others, will oblige him to correct and restrain such irregular and injurious Attempts. Thus in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the Magistrate owes Protection to all: But 'tis a Protection in their legal Rights. Of those Rights the Law is the Measure; and if any Subject in those Countries will claim Rights without, or against Law, the Magistrate owes him no Protection in those Claims. On the contrary, the Protection he owes to others, will oblige him to correct and restrain such irregular and injurious Attempts. In Spain, Italy, and Portugal, the Law subjects all Protestants and Heretics to the Inquisition, and to be burnt to death for their*
Adbe-

Adherence to Christianity; and, by Doctor Rogers's Principles, these miserable Creatures have no Claim, either to Liberty of Conscience, or Safety of Life. "The Law is against them; and if they claim these Things, 'tis not only without, but against Law, and the Magistrate there owes them no Protection in these Claims. On the contrary, the Protection he owes to the Inquisition, and the holy Fathers the Inquisitors, obliges him to correct and restrain such irregular and injurious Attempts."

Would one imagine, that an honest Man could ever thus vindicate the most iniquitous Laws of a Society? That a Christian, and Protestant Divine, could thus turn Advocate for the persecuting Laws of an accursed Inquisition? For all the standing Laws, amongst Mahometans and Pagans, for the Extirpation of Christianity? Should a Christian in Turkey or Japan complain of his Persecutors, and of the Severity of the Laws against Christians; and claim as due to him, by the Laws of God and Nature, a Right to profess his own Religion; the Magistrate hath his Answer ready. "The Law is the Measure of your Rights, and I owe you no Protection but in the Rights which the Law allows you. The Law condemns you to Misery and Death; and your Claim of Liberty to profess your Religion, is both without and contrary to Law, and therefore deserves Correction and Restraint." And this Reasoning upon Dr. Rogers's Principles is just and conclusive. But surely this is to confound all Right and Wrong, and to make the particular Laws of Societies the Measure and Standard of Truth and Justice; as well as opening a Door to every kind of Violence for Conscience-sake, and sanctifying the most unrighteous Laws that can be made to destroy the best Religion, and murder the Professors of it.

But farther; the Doctor asserts, "That all Penal-^{p. 86, 87.} ties, implied in negative Discouragements, may justly be affixed to A BARE INCOMPLIANCE with an esta-

“ blished Religion, though such Forfeiture may in
 “ some Instances be very afflictive, and attended with
 “ THE LOSS EVEN OF LIVELYHOOD AND SUB-
 “ SISTENCE :” i. e. The bare Incompliance with the
 established Idolatries of Paganism and Popery may be
 punished with all negative Penalties and Discourage-
 ments; with the Loss even of Livelyhood, and Sub-
 sistence; and, by consequence, with the Loss of Life,
 which cannot be maintained without a Livelyhood and
 Subsistence. These, it seems, are the Doctor’s negative
 Discouragements; and so also is the Exclusion of a Per-
 son from his Estate, and Liberty. Indeed all Penalties
 whatsoever are properly negative; i. e. they imply a
 Denial of some valuable Benefit and Privilege. And
 if the bare Incompliance with an established Religion
 may expose Persons to any of those Penalties implied in
 negative Discouragements, it may expose them to all of
 them; and, by consequence, not only to the Loss of Live-
 lyhood and Subsistence, but to the Loss of Reputation,
 Estate, Liberty, and Life it self. If the bare Incom-
 pliance with a national Religion be neither an Offence
 against God, nor an Injury to Societies, the punishing
 it with any negative Penalties is unrighteous and tyran-
 nical. If such a bare Incompliance be really prejudicial
 to Societies, the Magistrate may affix such Penalties as
 will effectually prevent it. The Doctor allows he may
 punish it with the Loss of Livelyhood and Sub-
 sistence; and therefore if this Loss will not prevent
 such Incompliance, he may punish it with such farther
 Loss as will answer the End; since a Right to prevent
 such Incompliance, that doth not amount to a Right to
 prevent it effectually, is no Right to prevent it all.
 Thus fatal will the Doctor’s Scheme of negative Penal-
 ties prove, to such as can’t in conscience comply with
 a national Establishment.

The Truth is, this Distinction of Penalties, into po-
 sitive and negative, hath no real Foundation, since
 all

all Penalties are equally negative, and equally positive. The putting a Man to death positively, is only, negatively, depriving him of the Benefit of Life. And the excluding Men from certain Privileges of Society, only for not complying with an Establishment, is positively setting a Mark of Incapacity, and Brand of Infamy upon them; 'tis pointing them out as Criminals, unworthy of the full Protection of the Magistrate, and the common Rights of Subjects. And when such Forfeitures are attended with the Loss of Livelyhood and Subsistence, 'tis the positive Penalty of forcing them either to beg or starve.

And if a bare Incompliance with an established Religion may be thus punished by the Magistrate, as the Doctor asserts, we may be assured, that he hath full Vengeance in store for every thing that looks like real Opposition to it. Thus he affirms: There is a great p. 98.
Difference between not actively complying with a Law, and acting in opposition to it; and that a Coercion of the one may be as just and reasonable, as Indulgence to the other: And if Actions done in opposition to the Laws of an Establishment, appear dangerous to the Peace, &c. of the Community, it will be as much a Duty of his Office to restrain these Actions by positive Penalties, as any other of the same Tendency. Again; that if the p. 103.
Magistrate apprehends the Principles maintained by any Sect to be inconsistent with the civil Peace, he is allowed to restrain, under positive Penalties, the publick Profession of that Sect: And if he ap- p. 104.
prehends the Toleration of one or more Sects, or 105.
ANY TOLERATION AT ALL, to be dangerous to civil Peace, he is protected in refusing it; *even tho' the said Magistrate may mis-judge in the Application of this Rule, and exclude from Toleration such Sects of Religion as ought not to be excluded. Again: It stands in the Magistrate's Discretion,* p. 118.
whether

p. 125.

whether he should tolerate, or not tolerate any Sect. Again: To stir up Parties and Factions against the Establishment, to labour by publick Preaching or Writing to with-draw Mens Submission from it, and gather Congregations in opposition to it, are Actions which no general Rule of Conscience can oblige Men to. *If this be the Case; if Toleration be not the natural Right of every good Subject; if it be in the Magistrate's Discretion, whether he will tolerate any Sects or no; and if he may restrain, by positive Penalties, the publick Profession of any and every Sect; then he must have a Right to forbid the publick Profession of any Sect, by such positive Penalties as will effectually answer this End; by Fines, Gallies, Pillories, Whippings, Mutilations, and Imprisonments; and if these are found ineffectual, even by Death it self. And if this Right be inherent in the Magistrate, as such, the Magistrate in Popish Countries may prohibit the Sect of Protestants, and the Magistrate in Turkey and Japan the Sect of Christianity, under the Penalty of Death it self. By consequence, the civil Magistrate in every distinct State in the World may persecute to death, if he thinks proper, every Man that differs from the established Religion; and the Doctor is an Advocate for Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, the Inquisition, and the whole Herd of Destroyers that ever have lived, or shall live to the End of the World.*

So bloody is the Scheme of Establishment which the Doctor vindicates, and so unbounded the Range he gives to this Fury and Devil of Persecution! 'Tis a Doctrine that lets Hell it self loose upon the Nations of the Earth, and that vindicates every tyrannical and sanguinary Law that can be made for the Extirpation of Righteousness and Truth. Toleration, it seems, is no longer a Matter of Right and Justice! 'Tis purely in the Discretion of the Magistrate, who may grant it or refuse it, always and every where; just as his Caprice leads him,
his

his Apprehension guides him, or his Priests direct him. If he apprehends any Toleration to be dangerous to the civil Peace, he is protected in refusing it. He is therefore protected and justified in demolishing the Churches, confiscating the Estates, in confining, banishing, torturing, and burning the Persons of those who differ from the established Religion; in a word, in using all the Severities that Heart can invent, or Malice suggest, to suppress those Sects, which he is protected in refusing a Toleration to: Because a Right in the Magistrate, to refuse a Toleration, implies a Right to use every Method to render that Refusal effectual. But if the Doctor's Establishments can't be vindicated without such large and dreadful Concessions as these, they must be the Terror and Abhorrence of every one, who hath the common Principles of Humanity remaining in him.

*V. The Doctor's Scheme vindicates and justifies the Scribes and Pharisees, and Rulers of the Jews, in the Crucifixion of our blessed Saviour; reproaches and condemns the Conduct of the Apostles and primitive Christians, the first Reformers, and our own Societies for Propagation of the Gospel. For he says, That no ge-^{p. 141.}neral Principles of Morality or Religion can oblige a private Man publickly to oppose whatever he thinks erroneous in an Establishment: That for a^{p. 110.} private Subject publickly to censure the Equity or Expediency of the present Establishment, and reproach it as unjust or tyrannical, is Mutiny and Sedition: That if Actions done in opposition to the^{p. 98.} Laws of an Establishment appear dangerous to the Peace, &c. of the Community, it will be as much a Duty of his (the Magistrate's) Office to restrain these Actions by positive Penalties, as any other of the same Tendency: And that of this Danger the Magistrate is the Judge. That tho' God, by^{p. 143.} a special Call, may require any Man to oppose an established Religion; yet if the Magistrate is not
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Preface,

p. 7.

p. 113,

114.

p. 101.

p. 124,

125.

convinced, he cannot but consider the Man as mistaken at least, if not a seditious Impostor; and is at liberty either to tolerate or restrain the Action, as the Nature and Tendency of it appear to him. *That* ALL publick Disputations about Points of Religion, be the Matter of greater or lesser Importance in it self, may justly and wisely be restrained by civil Authority, when they produce, or apparently threaten ill Effects on the publick Peace and Welfare. *That*, in some Instances, Motives of Religion and Conscience towards God may concur, and justly determine his Conduct. If the publick Professions, or Worship of any Sect, contain Blasphemies against the God he adores; if they maintain Principles affrontive to the Attributes of the divine Nature, and which tend to introduce Irreligion and Profaneness; he may reasonably esteem himself obliged, in Conscience, and from that Concern he owes to the Honour of God, to restrain them. *And finally*; the publick Professing, Teaching, and Exercise of different Schemes of Religion, may from different Circumstances be either dangerous, or not dangerous to civil Peace, &c. And accordingly as they appear under either of these Characters, this Motive may persuade the Magistrate either to restrain them under positive Penalties, or indulge an Exemption from them. Where a Man apprehends it unlawful for him to join in Worship with an established Religion, if he hath opportunity of joining in these Acts with another religious Assembly which he approves, he may reasonably think it his Duty so to do: *But* whether the Magistrate should permit such Assemblies, depends on Considerations of civil Peace. *But*, by any publick Acts to endeavour the Subversion of the Establishment; to stir up Parties and Factions against it; to labour, by publick

publick Preaching or Writing, to withdraw Mens Submission from it, and gather Congregations in opposition to it, are Actions which I conceive no general Rule of Conscience can oblige Men to; and therefore an unlimited Liberty in them, cannot be claimed as a Liberty due to Conscience. *These are the Doctor's express Positions: And these, if they are true,*

1. *Will justify the Scribes and Pharisees, and Rulers of the Jews, in restraining, by positive Penalties, our blessed Saviour from the publick Exercise of his Ministry, and in putting him to death. For our blessed Lord did publicly oppose what he thought erroneous in the Establishment of the Jews; and, what was more, severely censured the standing Teachers and Clergy of the Jewish Church, as Hypocrites, blind Guides, and a Generation of Vipers. He did, what the Doctor affirms to be Mutiny and Sedition, censure the Equity and Expediency of the Establishment, and reproached it as unjust and tyrannical. He publicly disputed about Points of Religion of the highest Importance, in opposition to the current Doctrine of the Jewish Church. He publicly professed, taught, and exercised a different Scheme of Religion from the publick; he endeavoured the Subversion of the publick Establishment himself, and sent his Apostles amongst the Jews to carry on the same Design. He publicly preached against it, and drew great Multitudes after him in opposition to it.*

'Tis true, he had a special Commission and Call from God to do thus: But yet the Magistrate was not convinced; and he looked on the Man, not only as mistaken, but as a seditious Impostor and Deceiver of the People; and was fully persuaded that his Conduct and Doctrine would produce, and did apparently threaten, ill Effects on the publick Peace and Welfare. For he was accused as one that subverted the ^{Luke xxiii.} *Nation,* ^{2.}

Nation, and forbid to give Tribute to *Cæsar*; saying, that he himself was a King. *After the chief Priest and Pharisees had in Council considered and acknowledged the Miracles of Christ, it was their general*

John xi. *Opinion: If we let him thus alone, all Men will*
48. *believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our Place and Nation. And on this Account, because of the ill Effects that thus apparently threatened Church and State, they all of*

ver. 50. *them came into Caiaphas's Expedient: It is better that one Man should die for the People, and that the whole Nation perish not. Christ indeed had a special Commission and Command, and was obliged*

Rog. Vind. *in Conscience to act as he did: But what was this*
p. 114. *to the Magistrate? How did Christ's Persuasion alter his Duty, unless that Persuasion of Christ's appeared to him formed really on a divine Command? Was he obliged to revoke the Establishment of a Religion, in which he saw no Fault, in obedience to a Message from God, for which he saw no Proof? Or should he permit the Man to embroil the Kingdom by Factions at home, or expose it to the Attempts of Enemies abroad, merely because Christ was persuaded he ought to do so?*

p. 146. *But did not the Jewish Rulers shut their Eyes against the Light, and harden their Hearts against Conviction? And was not this their Crime, that they were not convinced, when sufficient Evidence lay before them? I will answer, for the Jewish*

p. 149. *Rulers, in the Doctor's Words: That a special Command of God himself, requiring any Person publicly to oppose an established Religion, no farther obliges the Magistrate to encourage or permit such Opposition, than the Pretence of it is supported by good Evidence. If, upon Examination, such Support is wanting; the Pretence of a divine Mission, and all Obligation of Conscience arising from it,*
must

must go for nothing. And the Issue of the Question, whether the Magistrate should permit such Opposition or not, will rest wholly on its civil Tendencies. If he apprehends the Peace, &c. of the Community to be endangered by it, he may restrain it under the same kind, and measure of Penalties, which may justly be affixed to any other Action of the same Danger. *This, I apprehend, is as excellent a Piece of Casuistry, as ever was settled by any Christian Divine: For here he expressly asserts, that any Person, who is required by a special Command of God himself to oppose an established Religion, may, in a certain Circumstance, be restrained by the Magistrate, under the same kind and measure of Penalties, which may justly be affixed to any other Action of the same Danger; i. e. by Imprisonment and Death; because these are the Restraints that may be affixed to some Actions, that endanger the Peace of the Community. If any Person may in this Circumstance be restrained, then a divine Mission is in it self no Security against this Restraint of the Magistrate; no, nor any possible conceived Dignity of the Person who had this divine Mission. For, a special Command of God himself, requiring ANY Person publicly to oppose an established Religion, no farther obliges the Magistrate to encourage or permit such Opposition, than the Pretence of it is supported by good Evidence; i. e. such Evidence as the Magistrate judges good. For he means, by an insufficient Evidence of a divine Mission, such a Mission of the Authority and Obligation of which the Magistrate sees no Proof: Such a Support of a special Command, as upon Examination is wanting; i. e. which the Magistrate, after Examination, thinks to be wanting. And when the Magistrate, after such Examination, thinks such Support wanting, the Pretence of the divine Mission, tho' real, and all Obligation of Conscience arising*

arising from it, must go for nothing; *and the after Conduct of the Magistrate rests wholly upon HIS APPREHENSIONS of the civil Tendency of the Thing; and if HE APPREHENDS it to endanger the publick Peace, he may restrain the Opposition to the*

p. 147. *publick Establishment by Death. Yea, the Duty of his Office would oblige him thus to restrain it:*

p. 148. *For the Execution of his Office is a Duty he would owe to God, and the Community. So that tho' the Evidence and Support of such a divine Mission be in it self ever so good, yet if upon Examination the Magistrate thinks it wanting, and sees no Proof of it; it follows, according to our Doctor, not only that such a Pretence of a divine Mission is to go for nothing with him; but that he may and must restrain the Person pretending to it under the same kind and measure of Penalties, which may be justly fixed to any other Action of the same Danger.*

Nor do I see, upon the Doctor's Principles, how the Magistrate is ever guilty of any Crime, in not discerning such Evidence of a divine Mission, as may be even fully sufficient; or indeed that he is under any Obligation to give himself any Trouble about it. For, says he, with

p. 58. *regard to the Establishment of a Religion, 'tis not necessary to a rational Determination, that he should examine all the Pretensions and Professions of Religion in the World. If, upon a serious Examination, the first that is offered him appears free from any such internal Objection, as may oblige him to reject it;—he may safely rest here. And if he hath no Scruples, concerning the Truth of the Religion he hath chosen, he is under no Obligation to seek for them: And if any impertinent Disputant will be offering them to him, he hath reason to refuse to hear him. If indeed any Person comes with a Profession of being sent by God to require the Submission of Men to some other Reli-*

p. 171. *gion,*

ligion, or to some Alteration in that before received, 'tis very reasonable to attend to him, so far as to examine the Evidences of his Mission; because God hath certainly Authority to direct his own Service. But when he hath, with the same Care, examined the Evidences of such Mission, WHETHER HE APPROVES OR REJECTS IT, he may reasonably sit down satisfied with his Conclusion. *And by consequence, if, after such careful Examination, he may sit down reasonably satisfied with rejecting the Pretensions of such a Person, who professes to be, and really is sent by God; he can be guilty of no Sin in doing it, nor have any thing to fear from the Displeasure of God upon account of it.*

Now this will appear to be exactly the Case of our blessed Saviour, and the Jewish Magistrates. He had indisputably a special Command of God, to preach publickly the Necessity of abrogating the ceremonial Law, and substituting the Gospel-Faith and Worship in the Place of it; i. e. to oppose and change the established Religion of the Jews: And he was, as St. Paul tells us, the Brightness of his Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person; and as the Athanasian Creed tells us, to the Truth of which the Doctor subscribed, he was the eternal and incomprehensible God. Now tho' he confessedly had this special Command of God, to oppose the established Religion of the Jews, and in the Doctor's Judgment was the true and eternal God himself; yet, as he tells us, if upon the Magistrate's Examination the Support of such a special Command was wanting, and he saw no Proof of it; why then this Pretence of a divine Mission, and all Obligation of Conscience upon the Magistrate arising from it, must go for nothing. Now the Jewish Magistrates expressly charge him with Blasphemy, and pronounce him guilty of Death, and accuse him as a Perverter of the Nation; i. e. publickly declare they saw no Proof

Mat xxvi.
65.
Luke xxiii.
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of his divine Mission; and that the Pretence of it was not supported, in their Opinion, by good Evidence. What then must they do with our Saviour, after this? The Pretence of his divine Mission, and all Obligation of Conscience arising from it, in the Doctor's Judgment, going for nothing, the Issue of the Question rested wholly on the civil Tendencies of our Saviour's Opposition to the Establishment. The Jewish Magistrates considered this Tendency, and in their Apprehension very bad Consequences must happen to the Publick from it; even the utter Extirpation of the Nation: If we let this Man alone, all Men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come, and take away both our Place and Nation. How must they act, in consequence of such an Apprehension? Why, they might restrain our Saviour, under the same kind and measure of Penalties, which they might justly affix to any other Action of the same Danger; i. e. they might crucify him. And not only so, but the Doctor affirms they ought to do it: The Duty of their Office would oblige them to restrain him; for the Execution of their Office is a Duty they would owe to God, and the Community. So that tho' our Lord had a special Command of God to oppose the established Religion of the Jews; yet as the Magistrate did not see that the Pretence of it was supported by good Evidence, but did see or apprehend that the tolerating Christ in such Opposition would endanger the Peace of the Community; 'twas a Duty that he owed to God and the Community, to cut him off, as a dangerous Disturber of the Peace of the Society. This is the Deference the Doctor thinks due to a divine Messenger! This his Vindication of those, who with wicked and ungodly Hands slew the Lord of Life and Glory! That very Person, whom he believed to be the eternal, almighty, and incomprehensible God!

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Nor can I apprehend, that, upon the Doctor's Scheme, the Jewish Magistrates did wrong. He tells us, indeed, this was the Rulers Crime; that they were not p. 145
convinced, when sufficient Evidence lay before them. But I answer, in the Doctor's Words: That as the Rulers had no Scruples about the established Religion, they were under no Obligation to search for them. Their own Religion they knew to be of divine Appointment; or was what had, by long Tradition, obtained in their Church. And this Conviction, p. 57
that the established Religion was revealed by God, and that the Worship and Polity amongst them was especially approved by him, must have a Weight with the Magistrate superior to any other Consideration. He might therefore think it absurd, to debate about a Question of this Importance; because the Attestation of God to the Truth of his p. 58
Religion, was to be proved by as good Evidence, as could in Equity be expected and required. And therefore he might safely rest here, and proceed to act according to his Conviction. And therefore, as our Saviour's Opposition to the established Religion did, in the Magistrate's Judgment, endanger the civil Peace, the general, unlimited Assertion of the Doctor, must here take place: That when-ever Acts of Opposition p. 113
to the established Religion endanger the civil Peace, the Magistrate may justly restrain them under positive Penalties; and under the same kind and measure of Penalties, which may justly be affixed to any other Action of the same Danger; i. e. under the Penalty of Death.

But methinks a Christian, a Divine, a Man that obtained great Revenues and Dignity by professing the Faith of Christ, might have found out some other Method of Conduct for the Magistrate towards him. Supposing he was not fully satisfied of the special Commission of Christ, yet might he not have acted according to Gama-

Acts v. 38. liel's Advice? Refrain from this Man, and let him alone. Might he not have argued as that wise Person did? If this Counsel, or this Work be of Men, it will come to naught: But if it be of God, I cannot overthrow it, lest haply I be found even to fight against God. No: The Doct̃or was a thorow Root and Branch Man; and affirms, that tho' there should be a special Command of God himself, requiring ANY PERSON (Christ himself) to oppose the established Religion, yet if the Magistrate saw no Proof of this special Command, and apprehended the publick Peace would be endanger'd by permitting his Opposition to the Establishment; it was a Duty he owed to God, and the Community, to restrain his Saviour under the same kind and measure of Penalties, which he might justly affix to any other Action of the same Danger: i. e. 'Twas as much his Duty to crucify the Son of God, as it was to crucify either of the two Thieves that died with him.

Astonishing! Might it not be asked: Why, what Harm hath he done? Was there any thing in the Doctr̃ine of our Saviour that endangered the publick Peace? The Doct̃or allows the Christian Doctr̃ines to be innocent: Methinks then the Magistrate might have protected him. If his Doctr̃ines were innocent, why should he be put to death for teaching them? Why, because the Magistrate apprehended that his Doctr̃ine, and Opposition to the publick Establishment, would endanger the Peace of the Community. But if all Opposition to a publick Establishment doth, as such, endanger the publick Peace, Christ's Doctr̃ine could not be innocent; and the Doct̃or must then condemn the Doctr̃ine and Conduct of Christ. If Christ's Doctr̃ine and Opposition to the publick Establishment was innocent, then the mere Opposition to the publick Establishment made by Christ, was not the Thing that endangered the publick Peace. But was there not something in the Manner of our Lord's Opposition, that might have this dangerous Tendency? The

Doct̃or

Doctor hath not, as I remember, any where affirmed there was; and therefore I shall presume to take it for granted that there was not. If then Christ's Doctrine and Opposition to the publick Establishment endangered the publick Peace, 'twas only by Accident; and not because of the natural Tendency of either. This Danger to the publick Peace, arose only from the Passion and Fury of our Saviour's Enemies; and therefore why might not the Magistrate have determined, at all Events, to have protected the innocent Jesus, though he apprehended his Doctrine might accidentally endanger the publick Peace? Why might he not think that the Protection of Innocence would as much contribute to the Preservation of the publick Peace, as the sacrificing an innocent Person, who really had a publick Mission, to the Fury and Malice of his unrelenting Enemies? Surely the Teacher of an innocent Doctrine could not deserve Death, nor a real Messenger of God be worthy of Crucifixion for doing what he had in Commission from God to do; I say, he could not be worthy of Death upon any other Principle than that truly Priestly one, upon which the chief Priests and Pharisees, with Caiaphas at the head of them, acted: It is expedient for us, that one Man should die for the People, and that the whole Nation perish not; John xi. 50. A Maxim that had neither Honour nor Justice to support it! I should apprehend, that it would have been as expedient for that Magistrate to have permitted the Ministry and Preaching of our blessed Lord; as his Doctrines were confessedly innocent, and his Character unblameable: And instead of restraining him, and preventing his preaching Doctrines of everlasting Righteousness and Truth, and inculcating the great Duties of Humility, Justice, universal Benevolence, Charity and Love, Things that can never endanger, of themselves, the publick Peace; to have restrained the Malice and Rage of his unreasonable Enemies, and to have exerted all

his Power and Authority to prevent the furious and wicked Effects of them. This would have been a truly equitable Part; and prevented that intire Destruction, which God afterwards poured out upon the whole Nation of the Jews, to revenge and punish this execrable Murder.

My Reader will forgive me this short Apology, in behalf of our common Lord and Saviour; in opposition to a Man, who bath advanced Principles that do certainly vindicate the Conduct of those who delivered him up to the Shame and Horrors of the Cross; and who knows no Medium between the Magistrate's seeing no Proof of his divine Mission, and restraining him with the Penalty of Death, if he apprehended the Peace of the Community would be directly or indirectly endanger'd by the Opposition be made to the publick Establishment.

But, what is yet worse, supposing for once the Magistrates of the Jews really saw, and believed the Evidence of our Saviour's divine Mission; yet I think the Doctor's Scheme justifies the Counsel and Advice of Caiaphas before mentioned; and that, upon his Principles, the Rulers did right, in putting our Saviour to death. For his Assertion is general, without the least Exception: That if Actions done in opposition to the Laws of an Establishment, appear (to the Magistrate) dangerous to the Peace, &c. of the Community; it will be as much a Duty of his Office to restrain these Actions, by positive Penalties, as any other of the same Tendency. So far, and in such Cases as the Action doth endanger civil Peace, so far 'tis just and reasonable to restrain it. And again: All publick Disputations about Points of Religion, be the Matter of GREATER OR LESSER IMPORTANCE in it self, may justly and wisely be restrained by civil Authority, when they produce, or apparently threaten, ill Effects on the publick Peace and Welfare. Here 'tis affirmed, universally,

that

that all publick Disputations about Religion, be the Matter of greater or lesser Importance, i. e. be it by order of God, or not; be the Things disputed against, impious Worship, Idolatry, and Imposture; and be the Matter disputed for, an immediate Revelation from God, and ever so conducive to the present Welfare of Societies, and the future Salvation of Mankind; yet the Doctor asserts, without any Hesitation or Exception of Persons; without ever putting in a Salvo for the Christian Religion, or the great Author of it, that all such publick Disputations may justly and wisely be restrained by civil Authority, when they produce, or apparently threaten, ill Effects on the publick Peace: i. e. They may be effectually restrained, either by banishing, imprisoning, or destroying the Person or Persons, who thus carry on these Disputations, according as the Magistrate thinks necessary.

The Question here then is not about Christ's Commission, whether he had one or not; or whether the Magistrate was convinced of it or no? This makes no Alteration in the Case: But whether the Actions of Christ did appear to the Jewish Magistrate dangerous to the Peace of the Community? If they did appear thus dangerous; whether Christ had a Commission so to act, or not, the Magistrate was not to regard. It was his Duty to restrain our Saviour from acting as he did; and that by positive Penalties: By such Penalties, as were sufficient to restrain him; and therefore by putting him to death, if the Magistrate apprehended that that positive Penalty was necessary to restrain him.

'Tis but in a very odd Contrast, that this Reverend Casuist places the civil Magistrate and our blessed Saviour. The Magistrate was to take our Saviour to task, and to examine whether his Conduct did apparently threaten ill Effects on the publick Peace. The Magistrate did examine; and it appeared to him, that if he let Christ alone, the Romans would come and

destroy their City and Nation. *What must the Magistrate do in this Case? Do! Dr. Rogers shall answer for him: Why, it was the Duty of his Office to restrain him, by positive Penalties. And thus we have the chief Priest of the Jews, and the Pharisees, and Dr. Rogers, all of opinion: 'Tis better that one Man should die, and that the whole Nation perish not. The Advice was followed; our Saviour was condemned, for the ill Effects which his Conduct threatened to the publick Peace; and, in virtue of his Sentence, executed. And it seems the Magistrate did no more than his Duty.*

But I am persuaded our blessed Saviour was not of the Doctor's Sentiments in this Affair; and very far from thinking that the Magistrate had any Right, much less that 'twas his Duty to crucify him. He plainly insinuates, that Pilate sinned in judging him; but expressly affirms, that he who delivered him to Pilate, was much the greater Sinner of the two. And in the Parable of the Husbandmen, who slew the well-beloved Son and Heir, he says: The Lord of the Vineyard would come and destroy them. Hard Fate this, even of these Husbandmen! It was their Duty to restrain and destroy this Son, because they apprehended that his Conduct threatened the Welfare of the Vineyard; and the Lord of the Vineyard thought it very proper to destroy them for their Pains. So that this Reasoning brings the civil Magistrate into the sad Dilemma of being destroyed for doing his Duty, as the Doctor's Reasoning doth his Saviour: And all for one plain Reason, viz. to support an established Religion; or, in other Words, to aggrandize and enrich the Clergy of an Establishment.

But I do not wonder that this Gentleman should advance Principles so little favourable to the Person and Cause of our blessed Saviour, since he hath an Assertion that hath but too little Reverence in it, towards the very
Being

John xix.
11.

Luke xx.
16.

Being of a God it self. He affirms: That a Pretence p. 149,
of Conscience for opposing the Right of the Ma- 150.
gistrate to establish any Religion at all, cannot be
supported by the Plea of a special Mission from
God; because a Doctrine so absurd, and destructive
to human Society, Reason cannot admit to be from
God. And he who pretends to come from God
with such a Message, brings with him such an in-
ternal Disproof of his Mission, as would over-rule
ANY OUTWARD PROOFS of it; and he may as well
pretend a Revelation, requiring him to tell us,
THERE IS NO GOD. By the Establishment of Reli-
gion he means; a Distinction of that or those Forms p. 77.
approved and directed by the Magistrate, by Pri-
vileges and Provisions for Support and Protection,
ascertained by Law; the supporting the Admi- p. 80.
nistrations of it by Acts of Munificence, and En-
couragements of Honour and Support to such as
officiate in the Ordinances of it; and by affixing p. 94.
negative Discouragements to a bare Incompliance with
it, and positive Penalties to such Opposition to it, p. 98, &c.
as the Magistrate apprehends may have ill Effects
on the publick Peace. So that the Doctor affirms:
“ That ’tis an absurd Doctrine, and destructive to
“ human Society, for which there can be no Pretence
“ of Conscience, supported by the Plea of a special Mis-
“ sion from God, to oppose the Right of the Magistrate
“ to annex worldly Privileges and Provisions to that Form
“ or those Forms of Religion which he approves and
“ directs; to oppose his Right to support it by Acts of
“ Munificence, and Encouragements of Honour to the
“ Clergy of it; and to affix negative Discouragements
“ and positive Penalties to a bare Incompliance with it,
“ or active Opposition to it.” Yea, he affirms: “ That
“ he who comes from God with this Message, That the
“ Magistrate ought not to enrich his Clergy, nor affix
“ negative or positive Penalties to the Religion he ap-
“ proves,

“ proves, brings with him such an internal Disproof
 “ of his Mission, as would over-rule any outward
 “ Proofs of it :” i. e. prove him an Impostor and
 Cheat, tho’ he performed as many and as wonderful
 Miracles as our blessed Saviour did, in Vindication of
 his Mission. And once more, he affirms ; “ That he
 “ who pretends to come from God with this Message,
 “ That the Magistrate ought not to ascertain by Law
 “ worldly Emoluments, Honours, Privileges, and
 “ Riches to the Profession and Clergy of that Religion
 “ which he approves, and to punish by negative Penal-
 “ ties the bare Incompliance with it, and by positive
 “ Penalties the active Opposition to it, may as well
 “ pretend a Revelation, requiring him to tell us there
 “ is no God.” If this be true, the very Being of a
 God stands upon no better a Foundation of Certainty than
 the Magistrate’s Right to enrich his Clergy, and guard
 his Religion by Laws of Persecution ; and the Man that
 opposes the Magistrate’s Right to do thus, brings such
 Evidence to disprove his divine Mission, as all the Mi-
 racles in the World could never be able to countervail ;
 and argues himself as truly and effectually to be an Im-
 postor, as tho’ he pretended a Revelation, requiring
 him to tell us, THERE IS NO GOD. The Man is long
 since dead, that made this bold Assertion ; and I leave
 him to account for it, to his proper Judge. But far-
 ther,

2. The Doctor’s Scheme throws a Reproach on the Con-
 duct of the holy Apostles, of our blessed Saviour, and
 justifies the Heathen Magistrates in their Endeavours
 to restrain them by civil Penalties. The Apostles do
 not appear to have had that high Notion of the Ma-
 gistrate’s Power, which the Doctor had. They op-
 posed the civil Magistrate to his Face ; and absolutely
 refused Obedience to his Commands, not to preach any
 more in the Name of Christ. They did publickly cen-
 sure the Equity and Expediency of the established
 Religion

Religion of Jews and Gentiles, which the Doctor calls Mutiny and Sedition; and were therefore, on his Principles, guilty of both. The Jewish Ceremonies they called weak and beggarly, and the established Religion of the Gentiles Idolatry and Vanity. They publickly disputed about Points of Religion of the greatest Importance, and openly endeavoured the Subversion of that professed both by Jews and Gentiles. Yea, what is more, the publick Profession and Worship of the Apostles contained Basphemies against the God which the Magistrates of the Heathens worshiped; which they reproached as Idols, and as Things which by Nature are no Gods: So far from it, that they expressly call them Devils, and not Gods. And here the Doctor apprehends, that the Magistrate might reasonably apprehend himself obliged in Conscience, and from that Concern which he owes to the Honour of his God, to restrain them.

'Tis true, and the Doctor allows it, that the Apostles had a special Obligation of Conscience to oppose the^{p. 156,} established Religions of the World; as they had^{151.} a Commission to teach or disciple all Nations into the Christian Faith: And he farther thinks, that as the Christian Doctrines were of the innocent Cha-^{p. 154.} racter, the Magistrate might reasonably permit them to be preached; and that they might, on that Account, be said to have a Right to such Permission. How softly he treads! How gently he touches the Point! Innocent Doctrines! They may be said to have a Right! But even as tho' this were too much, he in the next Sentence absolutely recalls it, and saith: This Right, viz. which these innocent Doctrines of Christianity had to the Permission of being preached, must in the Nature of the Thing be submitted to the Judgment of the Magistrate; and if in the Result of his Judgment he apprehends either these Doctrines, or their Conduct in publishing

ing them, to be dangerous to the civil Peace or Interests of the Community, he will be obliged to act according to such Persuasion. Now a Right which another Person may be obliged to controul, is no Right. Let the Doctrines of Christ be as innocent as they will, they had no Right of Permission to be preached, if the Heathen Magistrate, under the Advice of his Pagan Priests, should happen to think them dangerous; nor the Apostles any Right to preach them, if the same Magistrate should apprehend their Conduct in publishing them dangerous to the civil Peace, and was therefore obliged to controul them. By consequence, the Magistrate was not only in the right, but even obliged to restrain the Apostles, by all positive Penalties necessary to this End, from propagating their Doctrine, after he had once judged it dangerous to the civil Peace: And by consequence the Mission of the Apostles from God gave them no Right, nor obliged them in conscience to publish the Doctrines of Christ, till they had first asked the civil Magistrate's Advice and Leave about them; because, what is one Man's Right, another Man's Conscience cannot oblige him, upon ANY JUST GROUNDS, TO OPPOSE. The Right of the Magistrate to oppose the Doctrines of Christ, upon his Apprehension that they contained Blasphemies against the Gods he worshiped, and endangered the publick Peace, the Apostles Conscience could not oblige them upon any just Grounds to oppose. I am afraid this will carry us one Step farther; and prove, really, that the Apostles had no Commission from God: For, if they had God's Commission to preach the Doctrines of Christ, they had certainly a Right to preach them; and if they had a Right to preach them, the Magistrate could have no Right to oppose the preaching of them, out of any Apprehension that they might be dangerous to the civil Peace; because what is one Man's Right, another Man's Conscience cannot oblige him, upon any just Grounds, to oppose. And there-

Therefore if the Magistrate had, upon any Apprehensions, a Right, and was obliged to restrain the Apostles and their Doctrines, the Apostles could have no Commission from God, because no Right to preach them, but what was subject to the Restraint of the Magistrate; i. e. in reality, no Right at all. Who will help us out of this sad Dilemma?

3. The primitive Christians, after the Apostles, had much less to say for themselves, who really had, generally speaking, no special Commission, or Obligation from God, to publish the Doctrines of Christ. And yet we find them publicly professing the Christian Religion, in opposition to imperial Edicts; reproaching the established Gods and Religions of the Gentiles; apologizing for themselves, and claiming the Right of Toleration and Liberty, in opposition to the Laws against them; uniting themselves into Congregations; labouring by publick Preaching and Writing, even when their Assemblies were condemned, to withdraw Mens Submission from the established Religion, and cheerfully suffering Martyrdom on these Accounts. Might not the Magistrate have argued in the Doctor's Words? By any publick Acts to endeavour the Subversion of the Establishment; to stir up Parties and Factions against it; to labour, by publick Preaching and Writing, to withdraw Mens Submission from it, and gather Congregations in opposition to it, are Actions which no general Rule of Conscience can oblige Men to; and therefore the unlimited Liberty you take in them, can't be claimed as a Liberty due to Conscience: Much less can such Obligation be pleaded to oppose the Right of the Legislature, to establish the present Religion. The Religion I have established, I am fully convinced of the Truth of; and therefore 'tis certainly my Duty to adhere to it: And the Reasons which have determined my Choice, are the Acceptableness of my Worship to the

p. 125.
p. 126.
p. 169.
p. 57.
p. 56.

the Gods, and the Tendency of it to promote the Peace of my Empire. To which I may add the Consistency, or Co-incidence of this Frame of religious Polity, with that of the civil Constitution. *The Roman Empire was founded, and carried on and raised to its Height, and the Majesty of it can only be maintained by the established Religion; and therefore your reproaching the Gods of the Empire, and your active positive Opposition to the Religion of it, is Mutiny and Sedition. I am therefore determined to ingage, if I can, your active Compliance with it.*

p. 97. *For this Purpose I have provided Priests for your Information and Instruction: And since Attention to such Applications is an Action in every one's Power, and against which no Pretence of Reason, or Scruples of Conscience can be pleaded; I require of you such Attention, under positive Penalties. And if by this Means I cannot engage you to an active Compliance with my Religion, I am determined to refuse you any Toleration; since, I apprehend, your Religion is subversive of the Establishment, and highly dangerous to the Peace of the Empire. And what is more, your Religion contains Blasphemies against the Gods I worship; and by reproaching them as no Gods, you propagate the Principles of Irreligion and Atheism, and thus deprive the Nations under my Empire of those Advantages of Religion, for which human Wisdom can devise no Equivalent: And therefore, whatever Plea of Conscience you may urge for this your impious Opposition to my Gods and Religion, I see no Foundation for it; and therefore can be no farther obliged to regard it, than the Grounds of it appear to me. Had the primitive Christians been in the Doctor's Scheme, could they have answered this Reasoning? Must they not have deserved all those positive Penalties, which the imperial Edicts subjected them to, if this Doctrine had been true?*

p. 154.

The

The Conduct therefore of the primitive Christians was, upon this Scheme of the Doctor's, a Crime against the State; and all their Zeal for the Cause of God, and the Redeemer, so far from being any Proof of an heroick Faith and commendable Resolution, that it was an Instance rather of Weakness and Folly. The Doctor's Principles would have very dextrously helped them out of all these Difficulties; and had they understood his Doctrine of the Rights of the civil Magistrate, and been acquainted with his Prudentials of Conduct, they might have saved themselves the Trouble of all the Sufferings they endured. He would have told them: There is no Law of the Gospel which requires you p. 135. *in your Station publickly to oppose those Prescriptions of Authority, which, in your private Judgment, appear to you contrary to any Law of the Gospel; nor to endeavour to render others, who approve them, dissatisfied with them. You may safely let this alone, without any Apprehension of Sin; for where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. And whatever you may omit without Sin, you can't be obliged in Conscience to do. And I think the Rule of the Apostle, Hast thou Faith, have it to thy self; may justly be extended to this Case. You may reasonably satisfy your* p. 139. *selves with exercising your own Religion: But* p. 134. *what is all this to setting up for publick Teachers, and gathering Congregations, in opposition to all Authority, civil and ecclesiastical? All Reli-* p. 160. *gions, as established, false as well as true, I acknowledge, and can perceive no Absurdity or Inconvenience in it, to be equally intitled to publick Favour, and to Protection from publick Opposition. If the Religion established be false, it must* p. 165. *always continue so, till they who have Authority to repeal the Law, are convinced that such Religion is false, and ought not to be established.*

The

The Consequence of all which is: That if the primitive Christians endeavoured, actually to oppose, and alter the established Religion, till the Magistrate was convinced 'twas false; to set up Congregations in opposition to it, and to write and preach against it; they were a Set of mutinous, seditious Rebels, that were justly punished for their Insolence. Their Death was no more Martyrdom, than the Death of other Malefactors; and the Faith and Patience of the Saints of God, are no longer worthy our Wonder or Imitation. Can't the Establishment of Religion be defended, without such Concessions?

- p. 176. *4. As to the Affair of the Reformation, the Doctor gives it up, as irregular and unjustifiable. He tells us: That Examples are a very imperfect Proof of Right or Duty: That whether some of the Reformers did preach or write against established Popery, in contradiction to the Commands of civil Authority or no, doth not affect our Reformation:*
- p. 177. *And that the Cause of the Reformation doth not depend on the Regularity or Irregularity of its Introduction; because Truth, from the worst Man that ever was, ought to be assented to: And that*
- p. 178. *the admitting that some of the Reformers Actions cannot be justified upon his Principles, yet it will not oblige him to recede from them. He is pleased*
- p. 179. *indeed to compliment them coldly, by professing himself to esteem them very honest, and some of them very great Men; but he will not undertake for every particular Action of all of them: i. e. for none of those Actions which they did in opposition to the civil Magistrate. He thinks indeed that they were generally defensible, upon his Principles; because they were sometimes required, by Authority, to give a publick Account of their Faith: In which Case 'twas their Duty to do it. Sometimes Princes might approve their Doctrine, and allow them to*
preach

preach and write. They might have an immediate Call from God, or be persuaded they had; which Persuasion would vindicate them as honest Men, tho' we are not concerned to prove them infallible, in the Application of that Rule which they acted by. But, nevertheless, this gave them^{p. 180.} no Right to a Permission from the Magistrate so to act; who, if he was persuaded that the civil Duties of his Office required him to restrain them, was obliged in Conscience to restrain them.

I am persuaded that no Man, who values the Protestant Religion and Liberties, which we owe to the Piety and Learning, the Zeal and Courage, the Sufferings and Death of those illustrious Confessors and Martyrs, who by innumerable Methods of Cruelty were destroyed by those Satanical Butchers of the Church of Rome, can read this Account without Detestation and Abhorrence. Unhappy Men, I had almost said, to be thus murdered by Papists, for your Adherence to the Truths of God! and to be raised up again, by this Reverend Protestant Divine, only that your Characters may be stabb'd and torn, and you may appear to the World only as seditious Rebels, or mad Enthusiasts! For this is all the Choice he leaves you. If you ever published your Principles by Preaching or Writing, without being required by Authority to give a publick Account of your Faith, or without the Allowance of your Princes, you did what you had no Right to; 'twas Mutiny and Sedition; and you should have stay'd till the Popes and Cardinals, the Monks and Friars, and the Princes of the Earth in League with them, had given you Permission to preach and write. Popery ought to have continued the established Religion, till the Magistrate should think fit to repeal the Laws made in its Favour.

But possibly you were persuaded that you had some Call from God, to protest against the Errors of Popery, and endeavour a Reformation. Weak Men!

p. 141. *Dr. Rogers can easily imagine, that some Principles of Morality and Religion may be so mistaken, that you might apprehend your selves obliged thus*

p. 179. *to oppose the established Religion: But he will not undertake to justify you, in every particular Action; in your publick Preaching, Disputing, Writing, and gathering Congregations, in opposition to established Popery. If you were persuaded you had a Call from God, this Persuasion would oblige you in Conscience to act according to it, and vindicate your Character as honest Men. But was not this*

p. 146. *mere Persuasion? And could Popish Rulers have reason to consider you in any other View, than as deluded Enthusiasts, or factious and seditious Deceivers of the People? And if they were fully persuaded that the civil Duties of their Office required them to restrain you, they were as much obliged in Conscience to act according to their Persuasion, as you were to act according to yours.*

So that all the first Reformers, without exception, who preached, or wrote, or gathered Congregations without the Leave of the civil Magistrate, are hereby condemned as Rebels or Enthusiasts; and the Popish Magistrate justified, in all his Attempts to restrain and punish them. If it should be alleged, in favour of the

p. 180. *first Reformers, that they published Books against established Popery, to convince the Magistrate, as well*

p. 167. *as others, of his Errors; the Doctor replies: Neither Reason nor Conscience can oblige the Magistrate to go farther in general Provisions to secure himself against Error, than to have always by him, either a publick Senate, or a select Council of the most distinguished Abilities, in his Dominions, and*

a regular Door by which the Advice of any private Subject may approach him; and, that whatever Error escapes thro' these Provisions, must be left to the Correction of God, *in whose Hands are the Hearts of Princes.* If, in establishing the Religion of Popery, tho' erroneous, he acts upon the best Informations he can take, tho' he happens to be mistaken in the Result; yet the Doctor presumes he may reasonably rest in his Conviction, and proceed to act according to it: And if there be no Reasons for him to inquire any farther, there can be none to permit publick Disputes for his farther Information.

Had the Doctor lived in the Age of the Reformers, he would have asked those Gentlemen, who were so very importunate to inform the Magistrate of his Error, what End they proposed in it? *Why,* to convince him that Popery was false; that the Establishment of it was unjust, and ought to be revoked. *But the Doctor would have answered:* Hold a little! *The Magistrate* hath not yet read all the Books that treat this Argument, nor heard half the People who have something to say upon it, and have as good a Right to be heard as you. You will not, I hope, require him to depart from his present Persuasions, till he is convinced of his Mistake in them: And he cannot, upon your Principles, have a rational Conviction, and Rest in his Conclusion, till he hath heard, and carefully examined, not only all that hath been said, or can be said at present; but he must wait to see whether some-body or other will not come forth with some new Informations of his Reason; to whom he must always be at leisure to attend, and never be satisfied with his Conclusion, till all the World is weary of disputing with him.

But perhaps this Scheme of our Reformers was not intended so much for the Service of the Magistrate, as the People. They might have Scruples and Doubts, and want Information; and 'tis reasonable *the Magistrate* should permit such a Liberty of Inquiry, as is necessary to their Satisfaction; and permit others, by *Writing, Preaching, &c.* to inform them. *But this Regard to other Mens Scruples, this Christian and charitable Desire to satisfy and inform them, the Doctor absolutely condemns. For, says he: Very reasonable, no doubt! But I can imagine NO REASON, why he should permit ANY ONE, to make it his Business to fill the Minds of his People with as many Doubts and Scruples as he can. I know no Obligation any Man, who is rationally satisfied already, hath to seek Doubts and Scruples; neither can I perceive that they are Things very desirable, either to the Magistrate or People. See Reader, the Christianity and Protestantism of this Doctrine! The Doctor "cannot imagine any Reason, why the Magistrate should permit " any one to make it his Business to fill the Minds of " his People with as many Doubts and Scruples as he " can." He can imagine NO REASON why the Magistrate should permit Jesus, or Paul, or any of the Apostles, to make it their Business "to fill the Minds " of his People with as many Scruples as they can," about oral Traditions, ceremonial Righteousness; the Worship of Jupiter, Bacchus, Venus, and the like Deities. He can imagine NO REASON, why the Magistrate should permit Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, and our other illustrious Reformers, both at home and abroad, who sealed many of them their Testimony to the Truth and Purity of the Gospel with their Blood, "to fill the " Minds of his People with as many Doubts and Scruples as they could," about the Papal Tyranny, Transubstantiation, the idolatrous Worship of the Saints and Angels,*

Angels, and others the Errors and Impurities of the Church of Rome. They were a Set of busy, impertinent Fellows; and he can't perceive these Doubts and Scruples were Things very desirèable to the Magistrate or People. Yea, he knows "no Obligation any Man, who is rationally satisfied al- p. 168.
"ready;" who hath taken the best Informations he could, tho' he happens to be mistaken in the Result, "has to seek Doubts and Scruples." The Heathens were thus rationally satisfied in their Idolatry: The Papists were thus satisfied in their Superstitions: The Mahomitants are thus satisfied in their Imposture: The Japanese are thus satisfied in their Worship of the Devil. They all act upon the best Informations they can take. The Magistrates, who enjoin these Worships, who establish these Religions, have by them their select Councils to direct them. The People have long Tradition, and the Instructions of their Priests, to confirm them in the Truth of them; and the Doctor knows no Obligation they are under, to seek Doubts and Scruples. But what admirable Concern for Truth and Righteousness, for the Interest and Success of Christianity, doth this Doctrine express! How unworthy a Representation of the Conduct of our first Reformers! Their Preaching, &c. without the Leave of the Magistrate, he thinks Sedition. Their Pretences to a special Call he censures as Enthusiasm; and their endeavouring to fill the Minds of the People with Doubts and Scruples, he can imagine no Reason for; i. e. 'tis a busy Impertinence. Thus, tho' a Member of the Protestant Church, his Doctrine is a Reproach upon almost all the Reformers: And in order to vindicate the Establishment of all possible Religions, he censures and condemns the Practices of all those great and good Men, to whom we owe the Introduction of the Reformed.

5. 'Tis needless to add any Thing farther, with respect to our own Societies, for Propagation of the Gospel. For, with respect to all Heathen and Mahometan Magistrates, if they are fully persuaded that they have Truth already, they have no Occasion for the Disputations and Preachings of our Missionaries, to inform them farther. The Magistrate, in all Countries, hath a Right to establish what Religion he approves: The whole Question of a Toleration is intirely in the Magistrate's Judgment; and his Apprehension of Danger will justify him, in restraining any Sect whatsoever. By consequence, Pagan and Mahometan Magistrates, who are fully persuaded that they have Truth already, have no occasion for the Information of our Missionaries: And if the whole Affair of a Toleration be in their Judgment, and their own Subjects have no Right to raise Scruples about the established Religion; much less can the Subjects of another Prince have any Right to a Toleration without the Magistrate's Leave, nor to spread Scruples and Doubts amongst their People about Religion. If there be any Error in their established Religions, it must be left to the Correction of God, in whose Hands the Hearts of Princes are; and if he doth not direct them, by the Illumination of his Spirit, or by a special Mission of other Persons declare his Will to them, the Matter must rest where it doth. And therefore for other Princes to erect Societies for propagating their own Religion; for Christian Princes to send Missionaries to convert Pagan and Mahometan Nations, without the previous Leave of the Magistrates of those Countries, is not only a Breach of the Law of Nations, and an Invasion of the Rights of other Princes, but even an Invasion of the Prerogative of the great God, and an Attempt to take his Work out of his own Hands: For if the Errors of Religion must be left to the Correction of God, and to the Illuminations of his

his Spirit, and special Missions to declare his Will; *the Attempts of Missionaries from Men, unilluminated and unsent by God, to correct those Errors, must be Insolence and Impiety.*

The Doctor doth indeed conceive, that every Christian Church hath Authority to send its own Members on such special Missions; and that they who are employed in this Office under such Missions, may very justly think themselves obliged in Conscience to fulfil them: And that, on these Principles, our Society for Propagation, &c. is justified, in sending Missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Indians. But may I be allowed to ask, Whence every Christian Church hath this Authority to send Missionaries into the Dominions of other Princes? The Doctor supposes they have it not from the Civil Magistrate; and that 'tis of prudential Consideration, whether he shall give the Missionaries leave to preach after they are sent: And that till they can satisfy p. 153. *him that they are sent by Persons; who really have an Authority derived from God to send them on this Service, the Plea of their Mission can signify nothing to him; and that tho' the Christian Doctrines are very innocent Things, yet if the Magistrate apprehends these confessedly innocent Doctrines of Christianity to be dangerous to the civil Peace or Interests of the Community, he will be obliged to act according to such Persuasion; i. e. to restrain the Missionaries from Preaching, and to punish them if they do. By consequence, if the Magistrate is obliged, on such an Apprehension, to restrain and punish the Missionaries of the Church of England for preaching Christianity, the Church of England can have no Right to send such Missionaries; because they can't have a Right to order that to be done, which the Magistrate hath a Right to prohibit and punish the doing of. If the personal Apprehension, and the Select* p. 154.

Council of the Japanese Emperor, do not direct him to tolerate these Christian Missionaries, but to persecute and put them to death, as Disturbers of the civil Peace, for preaching these innocent Doctrines of Christ, the Emperor is obliged to extirpate them. So that whether God himself, and the Right Reverend Prelates, who carry on the pious Work of the Foreign Mission, shall have Leave to order the Preaching of the Gospel of Salvation, depends in Japan on the Resolution of the Emperor, and his Council; and at Constantinople on the Determination of the Grand Seignior, and his Divan. So that before our Missionaries can be justified in going, the Permission of the civil Magistrates of those Places where they are to be sent, should be asked: And if they will not give Leave, the Matter must be left to the Correction of God.

*Upon the whole; the Consequences of the Doctor's Principles are these: That the Introduction of Christianity into the World was unjustifiable: That our Saviour, his Apostles, the primitive Confessors and Martyrs, who preached and taught, and gathered Congregations, in opposition to the civil Magistrate, were justly restrained and punished: That the Reformation, which was brought about by the same Methods, was indefensible: That our first Reformers were a Set of enthusiastical Persons, or seditious and impertinent Busy-Bodies; and that the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, that have at Heart the Propagation of the Religion of their Lord and Saviour, by Missions into Foreign Parts, take on them a very idle and needless Office, that can be defended by no general Obligations of Conscience. In a word, “ That neither Humanity, “ nor Charity for the Souls of Men, a Regard to Truth, “ a Desire to oppose Corruption and Error, and to “ prevent the Progress of Superstition and Bigotry, “ can justify any Man in preaching and publishing “ Christianity, without the Magistrate's Leave, and
“ con-*

“ *contrary to his Prohibition ; because all Religion, as*
 “ *established, false as well as true, is on the same Foot,*
 “ *equally intitled to publick Favour, and to Protection*
 “ *from publick Opposition : That if a false Religion*
 “ *happens to be established, it must always continue*
 “ *so, till they who have Authority to repeal the Laws*
 “ *which support it, are convinced that such Religion is*
 “ *false, and ought not to be established ; and that what-*
 “ *ever Errors in an established Religion escape the Pro-*
 “ *visions of a Prince, and his publick Senate, or select*
 “ *Council, must be left to the Correction of God, in*
 “ *whose Hands are the Hearts of Princes.*”

Whether Establishments of Religion may not be defended without such Allowances as these, I will not take on me to determine. If they can't ; is there an honest Man, a good Christian, or a sound Protestant, that can be in love with them ? Methinks 'tis hard, that the Murder of the Saviour of the World, by the Priests and Rulers of the Jews, should be defended by the Men that wear his Name, and have grown rich and wealthy by the Profession of his Religion. 'Tis hard that the Apostles of the Son of God, who only taught the innocent Doctrines of the Gospel, should deserve to be persecuted and destroyed, merely because they chose to obey God rather than Man, and because the Magistrate refused to give them a Licence publicly to preach, and make Converts to Truth and Piety. What must have become of the Doctrines of Salvation, if the Apostles had not preached them without the Magistrate's Leave ? They had a Call from God : This is confessed. But they had a Prohibition from the Magistrate : This cannot be denied. Which must they obey ? God they ought not, because the Magistrate was obliged to restrain them ; and that out of Principles of civil Policy, and the very Dictates of Religion ; because they blasphemed the very Gods he worshiped, and taught Doctrines which he apprehended prejudicial to the publick

publick Welfare. Neither could they obey the Magistrate, because they had a Call from God. Sad Dilemma! to be thus reduced to a Necessity of being punished of God for obeying the Magistrate, or being destroyed by the Magistrate for obeying God! How hard the Fate of our primitive Confessors and Martyrs! They reproached the established Religion of the Gentiles: They preached publicly, and wrote against the Superstitions of the Countries where they lived, and gathered Congregations, in opposition to publick Authority. But this the Doctor tells us is Mutiny and Sedition. But can Suffering for Mutiny and Sedition make Men Martyrs? I am loth, methinks, thus to strip them of the Glory, and rob them of the Crown of Martyrdom. Nor can I easily allow, that the Fires of Smithfield, that consumed our Cranmers, Ridleys, Philpots, and other illustrious Heroes of the English Nation, were justly kindled for their Destruction, and as the just Punishment of Enthusiasm, or of a criminal Opposition to the Civil Magistrate.

No: As a Christian, I freely condemn their Persecutors, as Tyrants and Murderers. They had a Right to publish the Doctrines of Salvation, and no Pretences of a Regard to civil Peace could justify or excuse their cruel Destroyers. Shall the Cause of God be made to depend on the Pleasure of Princes, and Select Councils? Hath the highest mortal Man Authority to stop the Progress of the Religion of the Son of God? Must diabolical Superstitions, and the most abominable Idolatries, continue to destroy the Souls of Men, because a Worm, a mortal Man, an earthly Prince, will have it so? Must Men be damned to eternal Slavery, because 'tis the Pleasure of their Tyrants? Must those for whom Christ died perish under Vice and Ignorance, because their Governors are Enemies to Doubts and Scruples? These are Principles I leave to you, O ye Rogers's, Berryman's, and others of the like Stamp,

to propagate and justify, in Defence of your Titles, Emoluments, and Preferments. To dissent from Establishments, if they can't be supported without these precious Sacrifices, I shall ever account my Glory; nor will, I hope, the largest Emoluments that earthly Power can offer me, ever tempt me to accept them, upon a Scheme that must exclude Christianity out of the far greatest Part of the World, and for ever settle Imposture, Superstition, and the Worship of Devils, amongst Mankind, till the Magistrate shall be convinced by a Miracle that he ought to repeal such an Establishment.

VI. *I would farther observe, that this Scheme of the Doctor's is contrary to the plainest Directions of the Christian Revelation, though he would have his Readers think that Christianity it self countenances it; as it not* 133.
where requires its Disciples to correct the Mistakes of their Brethren, and as no Precept of our Reli- 134.
gion obliges private Christians to set up for public Teachers, and gather Congregations, in opposition to all Authority, civil and ecclesiastical; but that 'tis their Duty to have their Persuasion 137.
themselves, before God. Christianity unquestionably obliges none, but, on the contrary, forbids all Men to attempt any Thing that is, in its Nature, contrary to the Ends and Welfare, the Peace and Prosperity of civil Government. But this I say, that Christianity obliges and encourages all Christians to contend earnestly for the Faith; Jude, ver. 3. and to strive together for the Faith of the Gospel; in nothing terrified, by their Adversaries, Phil. i. 27. To shine as Lights in the World, holding forth the Word of Life; Phil. ii. 15, 16. To look every Man, not on his own Things; but every Man also on the Things of others; Phil. ii. 4. To have Compassion of some, and others to save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire; Jude, ver. 22, 23. To convert
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him that erreth from the Truth, *with the Encouragement that he who thus converteth a Sinner, shall save a Soul from Death, and hide a Multitude of Sins; James v. 20. To have the Word of Christ dwelling in them richly in all Wisdom, that they might teach and admonish one another; Col. iii. 16. They are commanded to put on the whole Armour of God; and put in mind, that they were to wrestle not only against Flesh and Blood, Men of the lower Degrees and Stations of Life, but against Principalities and Powers; i. e. against the Kings and Princes of this World, confederated with evil Spirits, against the Cause of God, and his Christ. And amongst other Parts of their Armour, they were not to forget the Sword of the Spirit, which was the Word of God; Ep. vi. 11—17. Farther, they are exhorted, not only to hold fast the Profession of their Faith, but not to forsake the assembling of themselves together; Heb. x. 25. And the History of the Acts informs us, that where-ever Converts were made, they formed themselves into Churches and Congregations, for publick and social Worship, without asking any Leave of the civil Magistrate, or regarding their Attempts to persecute and destroy them. And where Churches were once gathered, the primitive Christians thought it their Glory to endeavour, by all wise and prudent Methods, the Conversion of others, and to add to the Church such as might be saved; and were not afraid of the Charge of Mutiny and Sedition, for their Diligence in spreading the Knowledge of the Gospel, and increasing the Number of Converts to the Christian Faith.*

From these, and other Passages which might be mentioned, 'tis evident that the Apostles require in Christians a publick Profession of their Faith; their meeting together in publick Assemblies, for social Worship; their having Compassion on some, and saving others, and pulling them out of the Fire; their endeavouring

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to convert Sinners from the Error of their Ways; their contending earnestly, their striving together for the Faith of Christ; in nothing terrified by their Adversaries; yea, in opposition to Kings and Princes, and Priests, those Powers and spiritual Wickednesses in high Places.

No! saith Dr. Rogers: If no Law of the Gospel ^{p. 135.} *requires the Christian, in his Station, publicly (viz. by Preaching, Writing, or endeavouring to form Congregations) to oppose such Prescriptions of Authority, as appear contrary to him to any Law of the Gospel, and to endeavour to render others dissatisfied with them, he may safely let this alone, without Apprehension of Sin. And I continue to think the Rule of the Apostle, Hast thou Faith? have it to thy self, before God—may be justly extended to this Case. i. e. Contend earnestly for the Faith; hold forth the Word of Life, convert the Sinner from the Error of his Ways. How? Why, by keeping your Faith to your self, before God. In like manner: Forsake not the Assembling of your selves together. Why? That you may keep your Faith to your selves, before God: i. e. You must meet in Churches, without Preaching or Hearing, Praying or Professing your Christian Faith; because, if any Heathens or Jews should come into the Assembly, you might by Professing your Faith render them dissatisfied with the Prescriptions of Authority, and the established Religion. You must contend earnestly for the Faith, by concealing it; and endeavour to convert Sinners, by saying nothing to render them dissatisfied with their Errors. Is not this excellent Casuistry, and an admirable Method of promoting the Conversion of others? Yes: This is all the Doctor would have private Christians do, or thinks that they need do; excepting only, that, in the pri-* ^{p. 134.} *ate Applications of Friendship and Conversation, they are directed to instruct the Ignorant, and in*

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general to use such Discourse as may minister Grace to the Hearers. *But the Doctor hath not quoted the Place of Scripture, where the Instruction of the Ignorant, and the ministring Grace to the Hearers, by good Discourse, is confined merely to private Applications of Friendship and Conversation; nor proved that it is unlawful for any private Christian, who is able to do it, to give a proper Word of Instruction in a more publick Manner, as he hath Opportunity. If a Man in private Conversation pretends to instruct the Ignorant, who is unfit to give such Instruction, he will be justly deemed exceedingly impertinent. If he be fit to give such Instruction, will his Instruction be ever the worse for giving it publickly? If he may minister Grace by a good Discourse, to one or two; may he not also, when he hath Opportunity, minister the same Grace to twenty, or an hundred? If he may do this once, may he not also twice; and as often as he can have Hearers to attend him? 'Tis allowed by the Doctor, that all Christians are directed to instruct the Ignorant among their Brethren, by the private Applications of Friendship. And I would ask, whether they may not also instruct an ignorant Person, who is no Brother, or Christian, by the same private Application? Whether the Reason of the Apostle's Direction to instruct the Ignorant, will not equally hold good, whether the Person needing Instruction be a Christian or a Pagan? If it doth, the Reason will hold good, a fortiori, for his Instruction of many ignorant Persons, if he can find any who are willing to attend him.*

Besides, what is it the Doctor intends, by private Applications of Friendship? May a private Christian seek after ignorant Persons, to instruct and minister Grace to them? When he hath instructed some, may he not seek after more? May he not be as diligent and industrious as he can, in promoting Christian Knowledge and Virtue, even till he hath instructed so many

as are sufficient to form a Christian Congregation? And may he not proceed in this useful Service, as far as the Concerns of Life will admit him, even as long as he lives? If he may, is not this to set up for a publick Teacher and Instructor? Is not this gathering Congregations, which consist only of Individuals? And may not this be sometimes justly done, in opposition to all Authority, civil and ecclesiastical?

Why no: Nothing of all this can be done: Even the private Applications of Friendship, in order to instruct and minister Grace, will be unjustifiable, or at least unnecessary, upon the Doctor's Scheme. For if a private Christian ought not publicly to oppose such Prescriptions of Authority, as appear to him contrary to some Law of the Gospel, lest he should render others, who approve them, dissatisfied with them; I say, much less ought he to oppose them in private; because private Oppositions to the Prescriptions of publick Authority may be sometimes so managed, as more effectually to render others, who approve them, dissatisfied with them, than a more publick Opposition to them. And by consequence, privately instructing the Ignorant, and using such Discourse as may minister Grace to the Hearers, can never be justified, if this Grace is ministred contrary to the Prescriptions of Authority; or if the ministring it hath a Tendency to render others, who approve such Prescriptions, dissatisfied with them.

Had I not, long since, learned not to wonder at the most extravagant Principles of bigoted Ecclesiasticks; had I not known, that no Principles are too absurd and bad for them to espouse, in order to support their Usurpations over the Church of God, and maintain their secular Advantages and Emoluments; I should really be surprized to see one, who calls himself a Christian and a Protestant, and who pretends to be a Minister of the Gospel, labouring, sweating, and contending, as pro aris & focis, to prove that private Christians are
not

not to do all the Good they can: That the Attempt to be publickly useful is at least impertinent, if not unlawful; and that their publickly endeavouring to render others dissatisfied with the unlawful Prescriptions of Authority, is very unsuitable to, and inconsistent with their Christian Obligations and Duty. Surely the Zeal of Christians, to spread Christian Knowledge and Piety, is not so extravagantly warm, as to need the cooling Prescriptions of the Reverend Clergy.

But it is said that publick Instruction is the Work of the Clergy, and of the Pastors of the Flock; and that they are to watch over it with Care, to guard it against Wolves; to oppose false Teachers, and those who privily bring in damnable Heresies. But now supposing, if it be not too uncharitable a Thing to suppose it, that the Men who call themselves Pastors of the Flock, should be very negligent in their Charge, instead of watching over it with Care: Supposing these Pastors should be Wolves themselves, who instead of guarding the Flock are continually devouring it; if, instead of opposing false Teachers, they should themselves be false Teachers, and bring in damnable Heresies, privily or publickly; what must the poor Flock do, in such a sad Situation? What, must they obey these Wolves, who pretend to have the Rule over them, and suffer themselves contentedly to be devoured by them? Must they, without murmuring or disputing, bearken to these false Teachers? Must they walk by the same Rule, and speak the same Things with them, when they bring in these damnable Heresies?

To affirm this, is expressly to contradict the Gospel. St. Paul commands the Brethren, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to WITHDRAW themselves from EVERY BROTHER that walketh disorderly, and not after the Tradition which he received of him. He beseeches the Roman Brethren to MARK THEM which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the

P. 133,
134.

2 Thess.
iii. 6.

Rom. xvi.
17.

the Doctrine which ye have learned, AND AVOID THEM. *St. John exhorts the elect Lady, whosoever 2 John, she was, and her Children, to look to themselves, 8, 9, 10. and not to receive into her House, or bid God-speed to the Man that should transgress, and not abide in the Doctrine of Christ. St. Peter tells Christians, that the following false Prophets and 2 Pet. ii. Teachers, who bring in damnable Heresies, tended 1, 2. to make the Way of Truth evil spoken of; and exhorts them to beware, lest, being led away with Ch. iii. 17. the Error of the Wicked, they should fall from their Stedfastness. St. Jude exhorts all Christians ver. 3. to contend earnestly for the Faith delivered to the Saints, in opposition to those ungodly Men, who should deny the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. St. Paul exhorts the Philippians to phil. i. 27. stand fast in one Spirit, and with one Mind, striving together for the Faith of the Gospel; in ver. 28. nothing terrified, by their Adversaries. From these, and other Passages that might be mentioned, nothing can be more clear, than that the Persons, who set up for Pastors and Teachers in the Christian Church, are no farther to be obeyed or submitted to, than they teach the Doctrines of Christ: And of this therefore all Christians are to judge. If they find these Pastors publickly or privately teaching Errors and Heresies, private Christians are publickly or privately to oppose them; and contend earnestly, by all Christian Methods within their Power, for the uncorrupted Faith of Christianity. They are to take care not to be corrupted themselves; to warn others not to be deceived by them; to withdraw from them, and form themselves into different Assemblies for Worship. This is the Apostolick, this is the Christian Rule: Tho' 'tis the Doctor's Opinion, they should not endeavour to render others dissatisfied with the prescribed Errors of Authority, but keep their Faith to themselves before God, and leave it to the Pastors*

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publickly to oppose Errors ; without ever supposing that the Pastors themselves may broach them, or making any Provision for the Safety of the Flock, if they do. But,

VII. Finally, I would once more observe, That the Establishment of Religion, in the Manner which the Doctor pleads for, is so far from being in its Nature necessary to answer the Ends, and promote the Welfare of Societies ; so far from being such an Advantage to them, as no human Wisdom can devise an Equivalent for it, as that it hath been the grand Occasion of the greatest Misfortunes and Calamities that have ever beset them. For from hence have proceeded all those Persecutions, which have laid waste Nations and Kingdoms, and ever proved fatal to Righteousness and Truth. Such Establishments are, in their Nature, the great Bulwarks and Securities of false and impious Religions ; and, by consequence, powerful Obstructions to the prevailing of the true. This Establishment of Paganism hindered the Reception and Success of Christianity ; and the like Establishment of Popery prevents, to this Day, the Spreading of the Reformation. Now if Popery and Paganism are really false Religions ; and if many of the Principles of each are directly contrary to the Good of Society ; I would fain know how the Doctor's Establishment of either can be of any Importance to the Happiness of Society ? Can the Establishment of Falshood be necessary to assert the Obligations of Moral Virtue ? Or the Establishment of Impiety and Superstition derive on Societies those Advantages of Religion, for which human Wisdom can devise no Equivalent ? Or the Establishment of Principles and Practices, subversive of the true Welfare of Societies, in any measure contribute to the Welfare of them ?

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Let Experience determine this. Before Constantine's Time Paganism was the established Religion of the Roman Empire. Now to what was the general Corruption of the Principles and Morals of the Heathen World owing? Why, to their established Religion. Whence proceeded the horrid Persecutions of the Primitive Christians, and the diabolical Cruelties which were practised against them, in almost all Nations of the World? From the exclusive Establishment of the Doctor's Religion of Professions and Modes. Whence the Persecutions which the Orthodox carried on, against the Arians? From such an Establishment of Orthodoxy. Whence the Persecutions of the Arians, against the Orthodox? From such an Establishment of Arianism. To what do we owe all the Butcheries of Popery? Those Seas of Blood, that have been spilt by the Church of Rome? The Crusadoes against the Albigenes, the Wars raised to extirpate the Vaudois, the Cruelties practised upon the Moors in Spain, and the almost Desolation of that Country by their Banishment; the infernal Massacres of Paris and Ireland, the more private Fires that have been kindled up in every Nation for the Destruction of Hereticks, and the diabolical Practices of the Inquisition: To what are all these Things owing? Whence hath the Christian World derived these Plagues and Curses of Mankind? Why, from the Doctor's Establishment of Religion. Reader: Consult what Histories thou plearest; look into all such human Establishments of Religion, as the Doctor pleads for, either in antient or modern Times, and thou wilt generally find, that as the Religions established have been nothing better than Superstition and Idolatry, somewhat contrary to true Religion and Morality; so the Consequence hath been Ignorance, and prodigious Wickedness in the People; and as the Effect of this, a State of the vilest and most abject Slavery to civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny.

So that if the Expediency of such kind of Establishments of Forms and Professions is to be judged of by the good Effects of them upon Societies in general, or their Subserviency to answer the Designs, and promote the Interests of true Religion; such Expediency must be given up, and can never be defended. Let the warmest Zealots for such Establishments but confess the Truth, and they must acknowledge, that amongst the several Religions established at this Day, true Religion, if any where besides amongst our selves, is established but in a very few Places. The established Religions of most Parts of the World, are those of Paganism and Mahometanism. Amongst Christians, how extensive is the Establishment of Popery? A Religion composed of Contradictions, Absurdities, and the most impious Errors; supported by Imposture, and Lies; maintained and propagated by Tyranny and Cruelty; and which, where-ever it prevails, necessarily proves fatal to the Liberty, Virtue, Trade, Riches, and every Thing in which the Prosperity of a People can consist.

Tell me, O ye Reverend Advocates for these Establishments, whether they are for the Good of true Religion, the Honour and Success of Christianity, the Welfare of Nations, and the Happiness of Society? Do the Obligations of Moral Virtue depend on them? What are the invaluable Benefits they derive on Societies? Can your Wisdoms devise no Equivalent for them? Will ye defend the Magistrate's Right to maintain and support these Establishments by negative and positive Penalties? Will ye thus plead for the Suppression of Righteousness and Truth? Will ye stand by Superstition and Idolatry, in opposition to the Religion of your Saviour? Will you, who call your selves the Ambassadors of the Son of God, vindicate the Powers of this World in persecuting your fellow Subjects, and rendring the Profession of his Religion penal? Will you also, who boast of being the Stewards of his
 Mysteries,

Mysteries, give your Approbation and Sanction to those civil Laws, that exclude these Mysteries out of the Kingdoms of the Earth?

Yes; You must do it: This is the Cause You must defend; if You will defend, with Dr. Rogers, the Magistrate's Right to establish, by negative and positive Penalties, such a Religion as he thinks proper. But will this be an Argument of your Love to Christianity? This a Proof of your Zeal for your great Master's Interest? Impartial People will think, that the Encouragements of Honour and Support, the Marks of Favour and Confidence, the Donations, Privileges and Immunities, and other Advantages of Preference, which the Doctor pleads for, are the great Motives of your Zeal, and the main Objects of your Pursuit. They will imagine that the Men, who will vindicate the Establishment of every Religion, will be of any that they believe to be most for their Interest; and are Christians and Protestants rather out of Profit, than Affection.

But these are Censures I leave others to make. Sure I am, that the Scheme of Dr. Rogers is a wicked, ungodly Scheme; calculated for the Suppression of Truth and Christianity, and to render the worst Superstitions and Impostures for ever inviolable.

*I persuade my self, however, that there are many worthy Divines of the established Church, who would be ashamed to defend even their own Establishment, upon the Doctor's Principles and Concessions. I should not wonder that a Pagan, a Mahometan, a Papist, or Hobbist, should thus, at all Adventures, vindicate the Religion of the Magistrate: But that a Christian or a Protestant Divine should advance and vindicate a Scheme that condemns the Introduction both of Christianity and the Reformation, and maintain his own Right to secular Emoluments and Advantages, by such Arguments as justify the Murder of our Saviour, his Apostles, the primitive Christians, and the whole Army
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of Martyrs and Confessors in the Christian Church: This is truly surprising, and what I can no otherwise account for but upon this single Principle, that Religion is the Creature of the State; and the best Religion THAT which hath the greatest Profits, and the highest Emoluments attending it.

I have done when I have added, That as I have, in the foregoing Pages, only endeavoured to shew the fatal Consequences that necessarily flow from the Doctor's Scheme of Establishments; so I cannot fairly be understood to have argued against, and condemned indefinitely all religious Establishments whatsoever; much less the established Religions of Great Britain. The Forms established in the North and South Parts of this Kingdom are very different; each supported by the same civil Power, and rendred unalterable by the same Laws. The Religion of the Magistrate in Scotland, which he supports and encourages, is intirely Presbyterian; and the Religion of the same Magistrate in England is as intirely Prelatical. So that the same civil Magistrate encourages two very different Forms and Professions of Religion, by Provisions of Support and Honour. And therefore I infer, that these different Religions are locally necessary, each of them where it obtains, to give a due Effect and Influence to the Laws of the Community, and to assert the Obligations of Moral Virtue it self; or else that neither of them is, or can be so; and that the Establishment of them will not be vindicated upon the Foundation of such a Necessity.

Any Arguments drawn from Religion, Truth and Righteousness, for the Defence of religious Establishments, I shall never oppose; nor be an Enemy to any such Establishments, as are not formed to the Dishonour, or for the Oppression of Christianity, or do not break in upon the sacred Rights of Conscience, and the common Rights and Privileges of all good Subjects. Where-ever this is the Case, Establishments must be so far faulty, and deserve the Amend-

Amendment of every wise and equitable Legislature. And therefore, as I am as much in Judgment against transplanting the Presbyteries and Assemblies of the North into the Southern Parts of Great Britain, and establishing them by a Law amongst us, as the warmest Friends to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of England can be; so I will conclude all with my hearty Wishes and Prayers to Almighty God for the Church of England, which I acknowledge and esteem as a very valuable Branch of the Church of Christ. I wish, for her own Honour, and the Sake of our common Christianity, that her Articles and Professions of Faith were more extensive and generous, so that all sincere Christians could subscribe them: That her Ceremonies were more conformable to the Simplicity of the Gospel, and left as indifferent as she acknowledges them herself to be: That the Temptations she hath laid to Mens debasing and profaning the sacred Institution of our Saviour's Supper, were wholly removed; and that her Toleration of such, as could not intirely conform to her, was perfect and universal. Were this her Case, she would indeed be the Glory of all the established Churches of the Reformation, and her Constitution be both amiable and secure. Great Peace would she have, and NOTHING COULD OFFEND her. She would have a Security more substantial than Tests and civil Penalties can ever afford her; I mean in the sincere Affection of every wise and good Man, and the constant Care and Protection of divine Providence. But give me Leave to add, that all such Fences, which are raised up for the Support of particular Establishments, upon the Foundation of oppressive Laws, and evident repeated Prostitutions of the most solemn Ordinances of the Christian Worship; such Fences must be feeble and precarious in their Nature, grievous to the Friends of Liberty and true Virtue; such as can never be justified by true Politicks, the Ends of Society,

ciety, or the Interests of Religion; and, finally, such as can never be acceptable to, and therefore never countenanced by the great God, who can't but be supposed to have a Regard for the Honour of his own Institutions; and to look down from Heaven, with a just Abhorrence, upon all human Laws that pervert the original Design of those Institutions, and encourage and authorize the most scandalous Abuses and Profanations of them.





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THE INTRODUCTION.

RELIGION is a Matter of the highest Importance to every Man, and therefore there can be nothing which deserves a more impartial Inquiry, or which should be examined into with a more disinterested Freedom ; because as far as our Acceptance with the Deity depends on the Knowledge and Practice of it, so far Religion is, and must be, to us a purely *personal Thing* ; in which therefore we ought to be determined by nothing but the Evidence of Truth, and the rational Convictions of our own Mind and Conscience. Without such an Examination and Conviction, we shall be in Danger of being imposed on by crafty and designing Men, who will not fail to *make their Gain of the Ignorance and Credulity* of those they can deceive, nor scruple to recommend to them the worst Principles and Superstitions, if they find them conducive or necessary to support their Pride, Ambition and Avarice. The History of almost all Ages and Nations is an abundant Proof of this Assertion.

B

God

The INTRODUCTION.

God himself, who is the Object of all religious Worship, to whom we owe the most absolute Subjection, and whose Actions are all guided by the discerned Reason and fitness of Things, cannot, as I apprehend, consistent with his own most perfect Wisdom, require of his reasonable Creatures the explicate Belief of, or actual Assent to any Proposition which they do not, or cannot either wholly or partly understand; because 'tis requiring of them a real Impossibility, no Man being able to stretch his Faith beyond his Understanding, *i. e.* to see an Object that was *never present* to his Eyes, or to discern the Agreement or Disagreement of the different Parts of a Proposition, the Terms of which he hath never heard of, or cannot possibly understand. Neither can it be supposed that God can demand from us a Method of Worship, of which we cannot discern some Reason and Fitness; because it would be to demand from us *Worship without Understanding* and Judgment, and without the Concurrence of the Heart and Conscience, *i. e.* a kind of Worship different from, and exclusive of that, which, in the Nature of Things, is the most excellent and best, *viz.* the Exercise of those pure and rational Affections, and that Imitation of God by Purity of Heart, and the Practice of the Virtues of a good Life, in which the Power, Substance, and Efficacy of true Religion doth consist. If therefore nothing can or ought to be believed, but under the Direction of the Understanding, nor any Scheme of Religion and Worship to be receiv'd but what appears reasonable in it self, and worthy of God; the necessary Consequence is, that every Man is bound in Interest and Duty to make the best Use he can of his reasonable Powers, and to examine, without Fear, all Principles before he receives them, and

all

all Rites and Means of Religion and Worship before he submits to and complies with them. This is the common Privilege of human Nature, which no Man ought ever to part with himself, and of which he can't be deprived by others, without the greatest Injustice and Wickedness.

'Twill, I doubt not, appear evident beyond Contradiction, to all who impartially consider the History of past Ages and Nations, that where and whenever Men have been abridged, or wholly deprived of this Liberty, or have neglected to make the due and proper Use of it, or sacrificed their own private Judgments to the publick Conscience, or complimented the licensed spiritual Guides with the Direction of them, Ignorance and Superstition have proportionably prevailed; and that to these Causes have been owing those great Corruptions of Religion, which have done so much Dishonour to God, and, where-ever they have prevailed, been destructive to the Interests of true Piety and Virtue. So that instead of serving God with their Reason and Understanding, Men have served their spiritual Leaders without either, and have been so far from rendering themselves acceptable to their Maker, that they have the more deeply, 'tis to be feared, incurred his Displeasure; because God can't but dislike the *Sacrifice of Fools*, and therefore of such who either neglect to improve the reasonable Powers he hath given them, or part with them in Complaisance to the proud, ambitious, and ungodly Claims of others; which is one of the highest Instances of Folly that can possibly be mentioned.

I will not indeed deny, but that the appointing Persons, whose peculiar Office it should be to minister in the external Services of publick and social Worship, is, when under proper Regulations, of Advantage to the Decency and Order of divine Service:

vice. But then I think it of the most pernicious Consequence to the Liberties of Mankind, and absolutely inconsistent with the true Prosperity of a Nation, as well as with the Interest and Success of rational Religion, to suffer such Ministers to become the Directors general of the Consciences and Faith of others; or publickly to assume, and exercise such a Power, as shall oblige others to submit to their Determinations, without being convinced of their being wise and reasonable, and never to dispute their spiritual Decrees. The very Claim of such a Power is the highest Insolence, and an Affront to the common Sense and Reason of Mankind; and where-ever 'tis usurped and allow'd, the most abject Slavery, both of Soul and Body, is almost the unavoidable Consequence. For by such a Submission to spiritual Power, the Mind and Conscience is actually enslaved; and, by being thus render'd passive to the Priest, Men are naturally prepared for a servile Subjection to the Prince, and for becoming Slaves to the most arbitrary and tyrannical Government. And I believe it hath been generally found true by Experience, that the same Persons who have asserted their own Power over others in Matters of Religion and Conscience, have also asserted the absolute Power of the Civil Magistrate, and been the avowed Patrons of those admirable Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* for the Subject. Our own Nation is sufficiently witness to the Truth of this.

'Tis therefore but too natural to suspect, that the secret Intention of all ghostly and spiritual Directors and Guides in decrying Reason, the noblest Gift of God, and without which even the Being of a God, and the Method of our Redemption by Jesus Christ, would be of no more Significancy to us, than to the Brutes that perish, is in reality the
Advances

Advancement of their own Power and Authority over the Faith and Consciences of others, to which sound Reason is, and ever will be an Enemy: For tho' I readily allow the *great Expediency* and Need of divine Revelation to assist us in our Inquiries into the Nature of Religion, and to give us a full View of the Principles and Practices of it; yet a very small Share of Reason, without any supernatural Help, will suffice, if attended to, to let me know that my Soul is my own, and that I ought *not to put my Conscience out to keeping* to any Person whatsoever, because no Man can be answerable for it to the great God but my self; and that therefore the Claim of Dominion, whoever makes it, either over mine or any others Conscience, is mere Imposture and Cheat, that hath nothing but Impudence or Folly to support it; and as truly visionary and romantick as the imaginary Power of Persons disorder'd in their Senses, and which would be of no more Significancy and Influence amongst Mankind than theirs, did not either the Views of ambitious Princes, or the Superstition and Folly of Bigots encourage and support it.

On these Accounts, it is highly incumbent on all Nations, who enjoy the Blessings of a limited Government, who would preserve their Constitution, and transmit it safe to Posterity, to be jealous of every Claim of spiritual Power, and not to enlarge the Authority and Jurisdiction of spiritual Men, beyond the Bounds of Reason and Revelation. Let them have the freest Indulgence to do good, and spread the Knowledge and Practice of true Religion, and promote Peace and good Will amongst Mankind. Let them be applauded and encouraged, and even rewarded, when they are Patterns of Virtue, and Examples of real Piety to their Flocks. Such Powers as these God and Man would readily allow them; and as to any other, I apprehend,

they have little right to them, and am sure they have seldom made a wise or rational Use of them. On the contrary, numberless have been the Confusions and Mischiefs introduced into the World, and occasioned by the Usurpers of spiritual Authority. In the Christian Church they have ever used it with Insolence, and generally abused it to Oppression, and the worst of Cruelties. And though the History of such Transactions can never be a very pleasing and grateful Task, yet, I think, on many Accounts, it may be useful and instructive; especially as it may tend to give Men an Abhorrence of all the Methods of Persecution, and put them upon their Guard against all those ungodly Pretensions, by which Persecution hath been introduced and supported.

But how much soever the persecuting Spirit hath prevailed amongst those who have called themselves Christians, yet certainly 'tis a great Mistake to confine it wholly to them. We have Instances of Persons, who were left to the Light of Nature and Reason, and never suspected of being perverted by any Revelation, murdering and destroying each other on the Account of Religion; and of some judicially condemned to Death for differing from the Orthodox, *i. e.* the established Idolatry of their Country. And I doubt not, but that if we had as full and particular an Account of the Transactions of the different religious Sects and Parties amongst the Heathens, as we have of those amongst Christians, we should find a great many more Instances of this kind, than 'tis easy or possible now to produce. However, there are some very remarkable ones, which I shall not wholly omit.



THE
HISTORY
OF
PERSECUTION.

BOOK I.

*Of Persecution amongst the Heathens upon
Account of Religion.*

SECT. I.

Abraham persecuted.



HERE is a Passage in the Book Cap. 5.
of *Judith* which intimates to us, that v. 6, &c.
the Ancestors of the *Jews* them-
selves were persecuted upon Account
of their Religion. *Achior*, Captain
of the Sons of *Ammon*, gives *Holo-
fernes* this Account of the Origin of that Nation.
This People are descended of the Chaldeans; and
they

they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the Gods of their Fathers, which were in the Land of Chaldea; for they left the Way of their Ancestors, and worshipped the God of Heaven, the God whom they knew. So they cast them out from the Face of their Gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many Days. St. Austin and

De civit. Dei, l. 16. *Marsham* both take Notice of this Tradition; c. 13. which is farther confirmed by all the oriental Historians, who, as the learned Dr. *Hyde* tells us, Cron. §. 5. unanimously affirm, that *Abraham* suffered many De Relig. Persecutions upon the account of his Opposition to c. 2. the Idolatry of his Country; and that he was particularly imprisoned for it by *Nimrod* in *Ur*. Some of the Eastern Writers also tell us, that he was thrown into the Fire, but that he was miraculously preserved from being consumed in it by God. Hotting. This Tradition also the *Jews* believed, and is Smeg. particularly mentioned by *Jonathan* in his Targum up- Orient. on Gen. xi. 28. *Nimrod* threw *Abraham* into a p. 290, Furnace of Fire, because he would not worship his &c. Idol; but the Fire had no Power to burn him. So early doth Persecution seem to have begun against the Worshipers of the true God.

S E C T. II.

Socrates persecuted amongst the Greeks, and others.

Plat. in Apolog. pro Socrate. Diog. Laert. in vit. Soc.

SOCRATES, who, in the Judgment of an Oracle, was the wisest Man living, was persecuted by the *Athenians* on the account of his Religion, and, when past seventy Years of Age, brought to a publick Trial, and condemned. His Accusation was principally this; “ That he did unrighteously and curiously search “ into the great Mysteries of Heaven and “ Earth;

“ Earth ; ^a that *he corrupted the Youth*, and did
 “ not esteem the Gods worshipped by the City to
 “ be really Gods, and that he introduced new
 “ Deities.” This last Part of his Accusation was
 undoubtedly owing to his inculcating upon them
 more rational and excellent Conceptions of the
 Deity, than were allowed by the established
 Creeds of his Country, and to his arguing against
 the Corruptions and Superstitions which he saw
 universally practised by the *Greeks*. This was
 called *corrupting the Youth* who were his Scholars,
 and what, together with his superior Wisdom,
 raised him many Enemies amongst all sorts of
 People, who loaded him with Reproaches, and
 spread Reports concerning him greatly to his
 Disadvantage, endeavouring thereby to prejudice
 the Minds of his very Judges against him. When
 he was brought to his Trial, several of his Accu-
 sers were never so much as named or discovered
 to him ; so that, as he himself complained, he
 was, as it were, fighting with a Shadow, when
 he was defending himself against his Adversaries,
 because he knew not whom he opposed, and had
 no one to answer him. However, he maintained
 his own Innocence with the noblest Resolution and
 Courage ; shewed he was far from corrupting the
 Youth, and openly declared that he believed the
 Being of a God. And, as the Proof of this his
 Belief, he bravely said to his Judges ; “ That
 “ though he was very sensible of his Danger from
 “ the Hatred and Malice of the People, yet that,
 “ as he apprehended, God himself had appointed
 “ him to teach his Philosophy, so he should

^a Ἀδίκη Σωκράτης, οὐς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει Θεοὺς ἢ νομιζόν-
 τερα ἢ καὶ αἰνὰ δαιμονία ἐπηγεμῆσθαι. Ἀδίκη δ' ἡ τὰς νέων
 διαρθείων. Τίμημα θανάτου.

“ grievously

“ grievously offend him should he forsake his Station through fear of Death, or any other Evil; and that for such a Disobedience to the Deity, they might more justly accuse him, as not believing there were any Gods:” Adding, as though he had somewhat of the same blessed Spirit that afterwards rested on the Apostles of Christ, “ That if they would dismiss him upon the Condition of not teaching his Philosophy any more, *“ I will obey God rather than you, and teach my Philosophy as long as I live.”* However, notwithstanding the Goodness of his Cause and Defence, he was condemned for Impiety and Atheism, and ended his Life with a Draught of Poison, dying a real Martyr for God, and the Purity of his Worship. Thus we see that in the Ages of natural Reason and Light, not to be orthodox, or to differ from the established Religion, was the same Thing as to be impious and atheistical; and that one of the wisest and best Men that ever lived in the Heathen World was put to Death merely on account of his Religion. The *Athenians*, indeed, afterwards repented of what they had done, and condemned one of his Accusers, *Melitus*, to Death, and the others to Banishment.

I must add, in Justice to the Laity, that the Judges and Accusers of *Socrates* were not Priests. *Melitus* was a Poet, *Anytus* an Artificer, and *Lycon* an Orator; so that the Prosecution was truly Laick, and the Priests don’t appear to have had any Share in his Accusation, Condemnation, and Death. Nor, indeed, was there any Need of the Assistance of Priestcraft in this Affair, the Prosecution of this excellent Man being perfectly agree-

^b Πιστομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν. Plat. Ibid. Act. 5. 29.

able to the Constitution and Maxims of the *Athenian* Government ; which had, to use the Words of a late Reverend Author, *incorporated or made* Dr. Rogers Vind. of the Civil Establishment, &c. *Religion a Part of the Laws of the civil Community.* One of the *Attick* Laws was to this Effect : *Let it be a perpetual Law, and binding at all Times, to worship our national Gods and Heroes publickly, according to the Laws of our Ancestors.* So that no new Gods, nor new Doctrines about old Gods, nor any new Rites of Worship, could be introduced by any Person whatsoever, without incurring the Penalty of this Law, which was Death. Thus *Josephus* tells Cont. A-pion. l. 2. c. 37. Edit. Haverc. us, that 'twas prohibited by Law to teach new Gods, and that the Punishment ordained against those who should introduce any such, was Death. Agreeably to this, the Orator *Isocrates*, pleading in the Grand Council of *Athens*, puts them in mind of the Custom and Practice of their Ancestors : *This was their principal Care to abolish nothing they had received from their Fathers in Matters of Religion, nor to make any Addition to what they had established.* And therefore, in his Advice to *Nicocles*, he exhorts him to *be of the same Religion with his Ancestors.* So that the Civil Establishment of Religion in *Athens* was entirely exclusive, and no Toleration whatsoever allowed to those who differed from it. On this Account, the Philosophers in *Athen.* general were, by a publick Decree, banished from *p. 610.* *Athens*, as teaching heterodox Opinions, and Edit. Ca-saub. *corrupting the Youth* in Matters of Religion ; and, by Diog. Laert. l. 5. Segm. 38. a Law, very much resembling the famous modern

^c Θεσμῶ αἰωνίῳ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νομοθετοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντα χρόνον, θεὸς τιμᾶν καὶ ἡρώας ἐσχωρεῖς ἐν κοινῷ ἐμπο-
νίμοις νομοῖς πατέροις.

^d Εἰκενο μόνον εἴηεν, ὅπως μὴδεν μὴτε τῶν πατέρων κατὰ
λύσῃσι, μὴτ' ἐξω τῶν νομιζομένων περὶθεσώσιν.

^e Ταῦτα τῆς θεῆς ποιεῖ μὴν ὡς οἱ περὶγονοὶ κατεδίδαν.

Schism

Athen.
p. 610.

Jos. Ibid.

In vit.
Anax.

I. 5. c. 38.

Joseph.
Ibid.
Athen.
p. 611.

Athen.
Ibid.

Schism Bill, ^f prohibited from being Masters and Teachers of Schools, without Leave of the Senate and People, even under Pain of Death. This Law, indeed, like the other, was but very short-lived, and *Sophocles* the Author of it punished in a Fine of five Talents. *Lyfimachus* also banished them from his Kingdom. 'Tis evident, from these Things, that, according to the *Athenian* Constitution, *Socrates* was legally condemned for not believing in the Gods of his Country, and presuming to have better Notions of the Deity than his Superiors. In like manner, a certain Woman, a Priestess, was put to Death, upon an Accusation of her introducing new Deities.

Diogenes Laertius tells us, that *Anaxagoras*, the Philosopher, was accused of Impiety, because he ^g affirm'd, that *the Sun was a Globe of red hot Iron*; which was certainly great Heresy, because his Country worshipp'd him as a God. *Stilpo* was also banished his Country, as the same Writer tells us, because he denied ^h *Minerva to be a God, allowing her only to be a Goddess*. A very deep and curious Controversy this, and worthy the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate. *Diagoras* was also condemned to Death, and a Talent decreed to him that should kill him upon his Escape, being accused of *deriding the Mysteries* of the Gods. *Protagoras* also would have suffered Death, had he not fled his Country, because he had written something about the Gods, that differed from the orthodox Opinions of the *Athenians*. Upon the same Account, *Theodorus*, called *Atheus*, and *Theotimus*, who wrote

^f Μηδενα των φιλοσοφων σχολης αφηγεται, αν μη τη βελιη
η τω δημω δοξη· ει δε μη, θανατον ειναι την ζημιαν.

^g Διοτι τον ηλιον μυδρον ελεγε διαπυρεν.

^h Μη ειναι αληθιν Θεον, αλλα Θεαν.

against *Epicurus*, being accused by *Zeno*, an *Epicurean*, were both put to Death.

The *Lacedemonians* constantly expelled Foreign-^{Joseph.}
 ers, and would not suffer their own Citizens to ^{Ibid. § 36.}
 dwell in Foreign Parts, because they imagined ^{Athen.}
 that both the one and the other tended to corrupt ^{Ibid.}
 and weaken their own Laws; nor would they suf-
 fer the teaching of Rhetorick or Philosophy, be-
 cause of the Quarrels and Disputes that attended it.
 The *Scythians*, who delighted in human Blood,
 and were, as *Josephus* says, little different from ^{Joseph.}
 Beasts, yet were zealously tenacious of their own ^{§ 37.}
 Rites, and put *Anacharsis*, a very wise Person, to
 Death, because he seemed to be very fond of the
Grecian Rites and Cremonies. *Herodotus* says, that ^{Herodot.}
 he was shot through the Heart with an Arrow, by ^{Melpom.}
Saulius their King, for sacrificing to the Mother of ^{p. 246. Ed.}
 the Gods after the manner of the *Grecians*; and ^{Gronov.}
 that *Scyles*, another of their Kings, was deposed by
 them, for sacrificing to *Bacchus*, and using the
Grecian Ceremonies of Religion, and his Head af-
 terwards cut off by *Oetamafades*, who was chosen
 King in his room. So rigid were they, says the ^{Id. p. 248.}
 Historian, in maintaining their own Customs, and so
 severe in punishing the Introducers of foreign Rites.
 Many also amongst the *Persians* were put to Death ^{Joseph.}
 on the same Account. And, indeed, 'twas almost ^{Ibid.}
 the Practice of all Nations to punish those who
 disbelieved or derided their national Gods; as ap-
 pears from *Timocles*, who, speaking of the Gods of
 the *Ægyptians*, says, *How shall the Ibis, or the Dog,*
preserve me? ⁱ And then adds, *Where is the Place* ^{Athen.}
that doth not immediately punish those who behave im- ^{p. 300.}
piously towards the Gods, such as are confessed to be
Gods?

ⁱ Οτε γαρ εις Θεους τας ομιλογιμους Θεους απεβουτες & δι-
 δοσαν εν Θεω δίκην.

S E C T. III.

Egyptian Persecutions.

Satyr. 15.
See also
Joseph.
cont. Ap.
1. 2. §. 6.

JUVENAL^k gives us a very tragical Account of some Disputes and Quarrels about Religion amongst the *Ægyptians*, who entertained an eternal Hatred and Enmity against each other, and eat and devoured one another, because they did not all worship the same God.

Engliſh'd
by Mr. Dry-
den, &c.

Ombos and Tentyr, neighbouring Towns, of late,
Broke into Outrage of deep feſter'd Hate.
Religious Spite and pious Spleen bred firſt
This Quarrel, which ſo long the Bigots nurſt.
Each calls the others God a ſenſeleſs Stock,
His own, Divine, tho' from the ſelf-ſame Block.
At firſt both Parties in Reproaches jar,
And make their Tongues the Trumpets of the War.
Words ſerve but to enſlame the warlike Liſts,
Who wanting Weapons clutch their horny Fiſts.
Yet thus make ſhift i' exchange ſuch furious Blows,
Scarce one eſcapes with more than half a Noſe.
Some ſtand their Ground with half their Viſage gone,
But with the Remnant of a Face fight on.
Such transform'd Spectacles of Horror grow,
That not a Mother her own Son would know,
One Eye remaining for the other Spies,
Which now on Earth a trampled Gelly lies.

^k Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium, et nunquam ſanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, cum ſolos credat habendos
Eſſe deos quos ipſe colit. —

All this religious Zeal hitherto is but mere Sport and childish Play, and therefore they piously proceed to farther Violences; to hurling of Stones, and throwing of Arrows, till one Party routs the other, and the Conquerors feast themselves on the mangled Bodies of their divided Captives.

*Yet hitherto both Parties think the Fray
But Mockery of War, mere Childrens Play.
This whets their Rage, to search for Stones —
An Ombite Wretch (by Headlong strait betray'd,
And falling down i'th' Rout) is Prisoner made.
Whose Flesh torn off by Lumps the ravenous Foe
In Morsels cut, to make it farther go.
His Bones clean pick'd, his very Bones they gnaw;
No Stomach's baulk'd, because the Corps is raw.
T' had been lost Time to dress him: Keen Desire
Supplies the Want of Kettle, Spit, and Fire.*

Plutarch also relates, that in his Time some of the Ægyptians who worshipp'd a Dog eat one of the Fishes, which others of the Ægyptians adored as their Deity; and that upon this, the Fish Eaters laid hold on the other's Dogs, and sacrificed and eat them; and that this gave Occasion to a bloody Battle, in which a great Number were destroy'd on both Sides.

De Isid. et
Ofir. p.
380. Ed.
Franc.

S E C T. IV.

Persecutions by Antiochus Epiphanes.

Antiochus Epiphanes, though a very wicked Prince, yet was a great Zealot for his Religion, and endeavoured to propagate it by all the Methods of the most bloody Persecution. *Josephus* Antiq. Jud. tells us, that after he had taken Jerusalem, and
plun-

l. 12. c. 9.

plunder'd the Temple, he caused an Altar to be built in it, upon which he sacrificed Swine, which were an Abomination to the *Jews*, and forbidden by their Laws. Not content with this, he compelled them to forsake the Worship of the true God, and to worship such as he accounted Deities; building Altars and Temples to them in all the Towns and Streets, and offering Swine upon them every Day. He commanded them to forbear circumcising their Children, grievously threatening such as should disobey his Orders. He also appointed *Επισκοπος*, *Overseers*, *Bishops*, to compel the *Jews* to come in, and do as he had order'd them. Such as rejected it, were continually persecuted, and put to Death, with the most grievous Tortures. He ordered them to be cruelly scourged, and their Bodies to be tore, and, before they expired under their Tortures, to be crucified. The Women, and the Children which they circumcised, were, by his Command, hanged; the Children hanging from the Necks of their crucified Parents. Where-ever he found any of the sacred Books, or of the Law, he destroy'd them, undoubtedly to prevent the Propagation of heretical Opinions, and punish'd with Death such as kept them. The same Author tells us also, in his History of the *Maccabees*, that *Antiochus* put forth an Edict, whereby he made it Death for any to observe the *Jewish* Religion, and compelled them, by Tortures, to abjure it. The inhuman Barbarities he exercised upon *Eleazar* and the *Maccabees*, because they would not renounce their Religion, and sacrifice to his *Grecian* Gods, are not, in some Circumstances, to be parallel'd by any Histories of Persecution extant; and will ever render the Name and Memory of that *illustrious Tyrant* execrable and infamous. It was on the same religious

Account

Account that he banished the Philosophers from ^{Athen.} all Parts of his Kingdom; the Charge against ^{l. 12. c. 12.} them being, *their corrupting the Youth, i. e. teaching them Notions of the Gods, different from the common orthodox Opinions which were established by Law; and commanded Phantias, that such Youths as conversed with them should be hanged.*

S E C T. V.

Persecutions under the Romans.

THE very civil Constitution of Rome was founded upon persecuting Principles. ^{Ter- Apol. c. 2.} *Tullian* tells us, ⁱ *That 'twas an ancient Decree that no Emperor should consecrate a new God, unless he was approved by the Senate; and one of the standing Laws of the Republick was to this Effect, as Cicero gives it: ^k That no one should have separately* ^{De Leg. l. 2.} *new Gods, no nor worship privately foreign Gods, unless admitted by the Commonwealth.* This Law he endeavours to vindicate by Reason and the Light of Nature, by adding: ^{De Leg. l. 2. c. 10.} *That for Persons to worship their own, or new, or foreign Gods, would be to introduce Confusion and strange Ceremonies in Religion.* So true a Friend was this eminent Roman, and great Master of Reason, to Uniformity of Worship; and so little did he see the Equity, and indeed Necessity of an universal Toleration in Matters of Religion. Upon this Principle, after he had reasoned well against the false Notions of God that had obtained amongst his Countrymen, and the publick Superstitions of Religion, he concludes

ⁱ Vetus erat decretum ne qui Deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus.

^k Separatim nemo habesset deos neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto.

with what was enough to destroy the Force of all his Arguments: ¹ 'Tis the Part of a wise Man to defend the Customs of his Ancestors, by retaining their sacred Rites and Ceremonies. Thus narrow was the Foundation of the Roman Religion, and thus inconsistent the Sentiments of the wisest Heathens with all the Principles of Toleration and universal Liberty.

And agreeable to this Settlement they constantly acted. A remarkable Instance of which we have in *Livy*, the Roman Historian: He tells us, ^m *That such a foreign Religion spread it self over the City, that either Men or the Gods seemed intirely changed; that the Roman Rites were not only forsaken in private, and within the Houses, but that even publickly, in the Forum and Capitol, great Numbers of Women flocked together, who neither sacrificed nor pray'd to the Gods, according to the manner of their Ancestors.——This first excited the private Indignation of good Men, till at*

¹ Majorum Instituta tueri sacris Ceremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.

^m Tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, civitatem incessit, ut aut homines, aut Dii repente alii viderentur facti; nec jam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat, nec sacrificantium nec precantium Deos patrio more.—Primo secretæ bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur, deinde ad patres etiam, et ad publicam querimoniam excessit res. Incusati graviter ab Senatu Ædiles Triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent: quum emovere eam multitudinem a foro, ac dissolvere apparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud procul afuit quin violarentur. Ubi potentius jam esse id malum apparuit quam ut minores per Magistratus sedaretur, M. Atilio, prætori urbis negotium ab Senatu datum est, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione Senatus consultum recitavit, et edixit, Ut quicumque libros vaticinos precationesve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet, eos libros omnes literasque ad se ante Calendas Aprilis deferret; neu quis in publico sacrove loco, novo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.

length it reached the Fathers, and became a publick Complaint. The Senate greatly blamed the *Ædiles* and capital *Triumvirs*, that they did not prohibit them; and when they endeavoured to drive away the Multitude from the Forum; and to throw down the Things they had provided for performing their sacred Rites, they were like to be torn in Pieces. And when the Evil grew too great to be cured by inferior Magistrates, the Senate order'd M. Atilius the Pretor of the City, to prevent the Peoples using these Religions." He accordingly publish'd this Decree of the Senate, That whoever had any Fortune-telling Books, or Prayers, or Ceremonies about Sacrifices written down, they should bring all such Books and Writings to him, before the Calends of April; and that no one should use any new or foreign Rite of sacrificing in any publick or sacred Place.

Mecenas, in his Advice to Augustus, says to him: *Apud* Perform divine Worship in all Things exactly according *Dion. Cassium,* to the Custom of your Ancestors, and compel others to do *l. 52.* so also; and as to those who make any Innovations in Religion, hate and punish them; and that not only for the sake of the Gods, but because those who introduce new Deities, excite others to make Changes in Civil Affairs. Hence Conspiracies, Seditions, and Riots, Things very dangerous to Government. Accordingly Suetonius, in his Life of this Prince, gives him this *Vit. Aug.* Character: "That tho' he religiously observed *thee. 93.* ancient prescribed Ceremonies, yet he contemned all other foreign ones; and commended Caius, for that passing by Judea, he would not pay his Devotions at Jerusalem." He also, as the same Author *Ibid. c. 35.* tells usⁿ, made a Law, very much resembling our Test Act, by which he commanded, that before

ⁿ Quo autem—religiosius Senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit ut priusquam consideret quisque, thure ac mero supplicaret apud aram ejus Dei, in cujus templo coiretur.

any of the Senators should take their Places in Councils; they should offer Frankincense and Wine upon the Altar of that God in whose Temple they met. It was no wonder therefore that Christianity, which was so perfectly contrary to the whole System of Pagan Theology, should be looked upon with an evil Eye; or that when the Number of Christians encreased, they should incur the Displeasure of the Civil Magistrate, and the Censure of the penal Laws that were in force against them.

The first publick Persecution of them by the Romans was begun by that Monster of Mankind, Nero; who, to clear himself of the Charge of burning Rome, endeavoured to fix the Crime on the Christians; and having thus falsely and tyrannically made them guilty, he put them to Death by various Methods of exquisite Cruelty. But though this was the Pretence for this Barbarity towards them, yet it evidently appears from undoubted Testimonies, that they were before hated upon Account of their Religion, and were therefore fitter Objects to fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment and Fury of the Tyrant. For Tacitus tells us,

Annal.
l. 15. c. 44.
Ibid.
Cap. 16.

that *they were* ^o *hated for their Crimes*. And what these were, he elsewhere sufficiently informs us, by calling their Religion ^p *an execrable Superstition*. In like manner Suetonius, in his Life of Nero, speaking of the Christians, says, ^q *They were a Set of Men who had embraced a new and accursed Super-*

Annal.
l. 15. c. 44.

stition. And therefore Tacitus farther informs us, ^r *were condemned, not so much for the Crime of burning*

^o Per flagitia invidiosos.

^p Exitiabilis superstitio.

^q Genus Hominum, superstitionis novae et maleficae.

^r Haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti.

the City, as for their being hated by all Mankind. So that 'tis evident from these Accounts, that 'twas through popular Hatred of them for their Religion, that they were thus sacrificed to the Malice and Fury of *Nero*. Many of them he dressed up in the Skins of wild Beasts, that they might be devoured by Dogs. Others he crucified. Some he cloathed in Garments of Pitch and burnt them, that by their Flames he might supply the Absence of the Day-light.

The Persecution begun by *Nero* was revived, and carried on by *Domitian*, who put some to Death, and banish'd others upon Account of their Religion. *Eusebius* mentions *Flavia Domitilla*, E. H. 1. 3. Neice to *Flavius Clemens*, then Consul, as banished c. 17, 18. for this Reason to the Island *Pontia*. *Dion* the 1. 67. in Historian's Account of this Affair is somewhat Domit. different.

He tells us, ‘ “ That *Fabius Clemens* “ the Consul, *Domitian*'s Cousin, who had married *Flavia Domitilla*, a near Relation of *Domitian*, was put to Death by him, and *Domitilla* banished to *Pandataria*, being both accused of Atheism; and that on the same Account many who had embraced the Jewish Rites were likewise condemned, some of whom were put to Death, and others had their Estates confiscated.”

I think this Account can belong to no other but the Christians, whom *Dion* seems to have confounded with the Jews; a Mistake into which he and others might naturally fall, because the first Christians were Jews, and came from the Land of *Judea*. The Crime with which these Persons were charged was *Atheism*; the Crime commonly imputed to Christians, because they refused to worship the *Roman* Deities. And as there are no

‘ Επλωεχθη ὁ αμφοιν εγκλημα αθεωρηθη.

Proofs, that *Domitian* ever persecuted the *Jews* upon account of their Religion, nor any Intimation of this Nature in *Josephus*, who finished his Antiquities towards the latter end of *Domitian's* Reign; I think the Account of *Eusebius*, which he declares he took from Writers, who were far from being Friends to Christianity, is preferable to that of *Dion's*; and that therefore these Persecutions by *Domitian* were upon account of Christianity.

E. H. l. 3. However, they did not last long; for as *Eusebius* tells us, he put a Stop to them by an Edict in their
c. 20.
Favour. *Tertullian* also affirms the same; and
Apol. c. 5. adds, that he recalled those whom he had banished. So that though this is reckon'd by Ecclesiastical Writers as the second Persecution, it doth not appear to have been general, or very severe. *Domitian* also expelled all the Philosophers from
Suet. in vit. Domit. Rome and Italy.
c. 10.

Under *Trajan*, otherwise a most excellent Prince, began the third Persecution, in the 14th Year of his Reign. In answer to a Letter of *Pliny* he ordered: * That the Christians should not be sought after, but that if they were accused and convicted of being Christians they should be punished; such only excepted as should deny themselves to be Christians, and give an evident Proof of it by worshipping his Gods. These were to receive Pardon upon this their Repentance, how much soever they might have been suspected before. From this imperial Rescript it is abundantly evident, that this Persecution of the Christians by *Trajan* was purely on the Score of their Religion, because he orders, that whosoever

* Conquirendi non sunt. Si deferantur et arguantur puniendi sunt; ita tamen ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque reipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum fuit, veniam ex paenitentia impetret.

was accused and convicted of being a Christian should be punished with Death, unless he renounced his Profession, and sacrificed to the Gods. All that was required, ^u says *Tertullian*, was merely *Apol. c. 2.* to confess the Name, without any Cognizance being taken of any Crime. *Pliny* himself, in his Letter to the Emperor, acquits them of every Thing of this Nature, and tells him: * That all they acknowledged was, that their whole Crime or Error consisted in this, that at stated Times they were used to meet before Day-light, and to sing an Hymn to Christ as God; and that they bound themselves by an Oath not to commit any Wickedness, such as Thefts, Robberies, Adulteries, and the like. And to be assured of the Truth of this, he put two Maids to the Torture, and after examining them, found them guilty of nothing but a wicked and unreasonable Superstition. This is the noblest Vindication of the Purity and Innocency of the Christian Assemblies, and abundantly justifies the Account of *Eusebius* from *Hegesippus*: *E. H. 1. 3.* ^y That the Church continued until these Times as a Virgin *c. 32.* pure and uncorrupted; and proves beyond all Contradiction, that the Persecution raised against them was purely on a religious Account, and not for any Immoralities and Crimes against the Laws, that could be proved against the Christians; though their Enemies slandered them with the vilest, and hereby endeavoured to render them hateful to the whole World. *Why*, says *Tertullian*, doth a Christian *Ad Scapul.*

^u Illud solum expectatur—confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis.

* Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpaе suae, vel erroris, quod essent soliti statō die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere, secum invicem; seque sacramento, non in scelus aliquod astringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent.

^y Ἀρα μεχρὶ τῶν τοῦτε χρόνων παρθενοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀδιαπορῆτος ἐμείνεν ἡ ἐκκλησία.

suffer, but for being of their Number? Hath any one proved Incest, or Cruelty upon us, during this long space of Time? No; 'tis for our Innocence, Probity, Justice, Chastity, Faith, Veracity, and for the living God that we are burnt alive. Pliny was forced to acquit them from every Thing but an unreasonable Superstition, i. e. their resolute Adherence to the Faith of Christ. And yet though Innocent in all other Respects, when they were brought before his Tribunal, he treated them in this unrighteous Manner: He only asked them, Whether they were Christians? If they confessed it, he asked them the same Question again and again, adding Threatnings to his Questions. If they persevered in their Confession he condemned them to Death, because whatever their Confession might be, he was very sure, that their Stubbornness and inflexible Obstinacy deserved Punishment. So that without being convicted of any Crime, but that of Constancy in their Religion, this equitable Heathen, this rational Philosopher, this righteous Judge, condemns them to a cruel Death. And for this Conduct the Emperor, his Master, commends him. For in answer to Pliny's Question, *Whether he should go on to punish the Name it self, though chargeable with no Crimes, or the Crimes only which attended the Name?* Trajan in his Rescript, after commending Pliny, orders, *That if they were accused and convicted of being Christians they should be put to Death, unless they renounced that Name, and sacrificed to his Gods.* Tertullian and Athenagoras, in their Apologies, very justly inveigh with great Warmth against this Imperial Rescript; and indeed, a more shameful Piece of Iniquity was never practised in the darkest Times of Popery. I hope also my Reader will observe, that this was *Lay-Persecution*, and owed its Rise to the religious Zeal

of one of the best of the *Roman* Emperors, and not only to the Contrivances of cruel and designing Priests; that it was justified and carried on by a very famous and learned Philosopher, whose Reason taught him, that what he accounted Superstition, if incurable, was to be punished with Death; and that it was managed with great Fury and Barbarity, Multitudes of Persons in the several Provinces being destroyed merely on account of the Christian Name, by various and exquisite Methods of Cruelty.

The Rescript of *Adrian* his Successor to *Minutius Fundanus*, Pro-Consul of *Asia*, seems to have somewhat abated the Fury of this Persecution, though not wholly to have put an End to it. *Tertullian* Ad Scap, tells us, that *Arrius Antoninus*, afterwards Emperor, then Pro-Consul of *Asia*, when the Christians came in a Body before his Tribunal, order'd some of them to be put to Death; and said to others: ² *You Wretches! If you will die ye have Precipices and Halters.* He also says, That several other Governors of Provinces punished some few Christians, and dismissed the rest; so that the Persecution was not so general, nor severe as under *Trajan*.

Under *Antoninus Pius* the Christians were very cruelly treated in some of the Provinces of *Asia*, which occasioned *Justin Martyr* to write his first Apology. It doth not however appear to have been done, either by the Order or Consent of this Emperor. On the contrary, he wrote Letters to the Cities of *Asia*, and particularly to those of *Larissa*, *Theffalonica*, *Athens*, and all the *Greeks*, That they should create no new Troubles to them. 'Tis probable, that the *Asiatick* Cities persecuted

² Ὁ δειλὸς, εἰ θελήσῃ ἀποθνήσκειν χρημὲν ἢ βροχὺς ἐχέσῃ.

them

them by virtue of some former imperial Edicts, which don't appear ever to have been recalled; and, perhaps, with the Connivance of *Antoninus Philosophus*, the Collegue and Successor of *Pius* in the Empire.

Under him began, as 'tis generally accounted, the fourth Persecution, upon which *Justin Martyr* wrote his second Apology, *Meliton* his, and *Athenagoras* his *Legation* or *Embassy* for the Christians.

E. H. 1. 4. *Meliton*, as *Eusebius* relates it, complains of it as
c. 26. an almost unheard of Thing, that pious Men were now persecuted, and greatly distressed by new Decrees throughout Asia; that most impudent Informers, who were greedy of other Persons Substance, took Occasion from the imperial Edicts, to plunder others who were intirely innocent. After this he humbly beseeches the Emperor, that he would not suffer the Christians to be any longer used in so cruel and unrighteous a Manner. *Justin Martyr*, in the Account he gives of the Martyrdom of *Ptolemæus*, assures us, that the only Question asked him was, *Whether he was a Christian?* And upon his confessing that he was, he was immediately ordered to the Slaughter. *Lucius* was also put to Death for making the same Confession, and asking *Urbicus* the Prefect, why he condemned *Ptolemy*, who was neither convicted of Adultery, Rape, Murther, Theft, Robbery, nor of any other Crime, but only for owning himself to be a Christian. From these Accounts 'tis abundantly evident, that it was still the very Name of a Christian that was made capital; and that these Cruelties were committed by an Emperor who was a great Master of Reason and Philosophy; not as Punishments upon Offenders against the Laws and publick Peace, but purely for the Sake of Religion and Conscience; committed, to maintain and propagate Idolatry, which is contrary to all

Apol. 2^{da}.
c. 42. Edit.
Thirlb.

all the Principles of Reason and Philosophy, and upon Persons of great Integrity and Virtue in Heart and Life, for their Adherence to the Worship of One God, which is the Foundation of all true Religion, and one of the plainest and most important Articles of it. The Tortures which the Persecutors of the Christians applied, and the Cruelties they exercised on them, enough, one would think, to have overcome the firmest human Resolution and Patience, could never extort from them a Confession of that Guilt their Enemies would gladly have fixed on them. And yet Innocent as they were in all Respects, they were treated with the utmost Indignity, and destroy'd by such Inventions of Cruelty, as were abhorrent to all the Principles of Humanity and Goodness. They were, indeed, accused of *Atheism*, i. e. for not believing in, and worshipping the fictitious Gods of the Heathens. This was the Cry of the Multitude against *Polycarp*: *This is the Doctor of Asia, the* Euseb. E. H. l. 4. c. 15. *Father of the Christians, the Subverter of our Gods, who teaches many that they must not perform the sacred Rites, nor worship our Deities.* This was the Reason of the tumultuous Cry against him, *Αἰσε τὰς Ἀθεῖας, Away with these Atheists.* But would not one have imagined that Reason and Philosophy should have informed the Emperor, that this kind of Atheism was a real Virtue, and deserved to be encouraged and propagated amongst Mankind? No: Reason and Philosophy here failed him, and his blind Attachment to his Country Gods caused him to shed much innocent Blood, and to become the Destroyer of the Saints of the living God. At last, indeed, the Id. l. 4. c. 13. Emperor seems to have been sensible of the great Injustice of this Persecution, and by an Edict ordered they should be no longer punished for being Christians.

I shall not trouble my Reader with an Account of this Persecution as carried on by *Severus, Decius, Gallus, Valerianus, Dioclesian*, and others of the *Roman Emperors*; but only observe in general, that the most excessive and outrageous Barbarities were made use of upon all who would not blaspheme Christ, and offer Incense to the imperial Gods: They were publickly whipped; drawn by the Heels through the Streets of Cities; racked till every Bone of their Bodies was disjointed; had their Teeth beat out; their Noses, Hands and Ears cut off; sharp-pointed Spears ran under their Nails; were tortured with melted Lead thrown on their naked Bodies; had their Eyes dug out; their Limbs cut off; were condemned to the Mines; ground between Stones; stoned to Death; burnt alive; thrown Headlong from high Buildings; beheaded; smothered in burning Lime-Kilns; ran through the Body with sharp Spears; destroyed with Hunger, Thirst, and Cold; thrown to the wild Beasts; broiled on Gridirons with slow Fires; cast by Heaps into the Sea; crucified; scraped to Death with sharp Shells; torn in Pieces by the Boughs of Trees; and, in a Word, destroy'd by all the various Methods that the most diabolical Subtlety and Malice could devise.

It must indeed be confessed, that under the latter Emperors who persecuted the Christians, the Simplicity and Purity of the Christian Religion were greatly corrupted, and that Ambition, Pride and Luxury, had too generally prevailed both amongst the Pastors and People. *Cyprian*, who lived under the *Decian* Persecution, writing concerning it to the Presbyters and Deacons, says: *It must be owned and confessed, that this outrageous and heavy Calamity, which hath almost devoured our Flock, and continues to devour it to this Day, hath hapned to us because of our*

Sins,

Sins, since we keep not the Way of the Lord, nor observe his heavenly Commands given to us for our Salvation. Though our Lord did the Will of his Father, yet we do not the Will of the Lord. Our principal Study is to get Money and Estates; we follow after Pride; we are at Leisure for nothing but Emulation and Quarrelling; and have neglected the Simplicity of the Faith. We have renounced this World in Words only, and not in Deed. Every one studies to please himself, and to displease others. After Cyprian, *Eusebius* the Historian gives a sad Account of the Decade. E. H. 1. 8.
c. 1. generacy of Christians about the Time of the Dioclesian Persecution: He tells us, That through too much Liberty they grew negligent and slothful, envying and reproaching one another; waging, as it were, civil Wars between themselves, Bishops quarrelling with Bishops, and the People divided into Parties: That Hypocrisy and Deceit were grown to the highest pitch of Wickedness; that they were become so insensible, as not so much as to think of appeasing the Divine Anger, but that, like Atheists, they thought the World destitute of any providential Government and Care, and thus added one Crime to another; that the Bishops themselves had thrown off all Care of Religion, were perpetually contending with one another, and did nothing but quarrel with, and threaten, and envy, and hate one another; were full of Ambition, and tyrannically used their Power. This was the deplorable State of the Christian Church, which God, as *Eusebius* well observes, first punished with a gentle Hand; but when they grew harden'd and incurable in their Vices, he was pleased to let in the most grievous Persecution upon them, under *Dioclesian*, which exceeded in Severity and Length all that had been before.

From these Accounts it evidently appears, that the Christian World alone is not chargeable with
the

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

the Guilt of Persecution on the Score of Religion. 'Twas practis'd long before Christianity was in being, and first taught the Christians by the persecuting Heathens. The most eminent Philosophers espoused and vindicated persecuting Principles; and Emperors, otherwise excellent and good, made no scruple of destroying Multitudes on a religious Account, such as *Trajan*, and *Aurelius Verus*. And I think I may farther add, that the Method of propagating Religion by Cruelty and Death, owes its Invention to *Lay Policy* and Craft; and that how servilely soever the Priesthood hath thought fit to imitate them, yet that they have never exceeded them in Rigour and Severity. I can trace out the Footsteps but of very few Priests in the foregoing Accounts; nor have I ever heard of more excessive Cruelties than those practis'd by *Antiochus*, the *Egyptian* Heretick Eaters, and the *Roman* Emperors. I may farther add on this important Article, that 'tis the Laity who have put it into the Power of the Priests to persecute, and rendered it worth their while to do it; they have done it by the Authority of the civil Laws, as well as employed Lay-Hands to execute the Drudgery of it. The Emoluments of Honours and Riches that have been annexed to the favourite Religion and Priesthood is the Establishment of civil Society, whereby Religion hath been made extremely profitable, and the *Gains of Godliness* worth contending for. Had the Laity been more sparing in their Grants, and their civil Constitutions formed upon the generous and equitable Principle of an universal Toleration, Persecution had never been heard of amongst Men. The Priests would have wanted not only the Power, but the Inclination to persecute; since few Persons have such an Attachment either to what they account
Religion

Religion or Truth, as to torment and destroy others for the sake of it, unless tempted with the Views of worldly Ambition, Power and Grandure. These Views will have the same Influence upon all bad Minds, whether of the Priesthood or Laity, who, when they are determined at all Hazards to pursue them, will use all Methods, right or wrong, to accomplish and secure them.

As therefore the Truth of History obliges me to compliment the Laity with the Honour of this excellent Invention, for the Support and Propagation of Religion; and as its Continuance in the World to this Day is owing to the Protection and Authority of their Laws, and to certain political Ends and Purposes they have to serve thereby, the loading the Priesthood only, or principally, with the Infamy and Guilt of it, is a mean and groundless Scandal; and to be perpetually objecting the Cruelties that have been practised by some who have called themselves Christians, on others for Conscience-sake, as an Argument against the Excellency of the Christian Religion, or with a View to prejudice others against it, is an Artifice unworthy a Person of common Understanding and Honesty. Let all equally share the Guilt, who are equally chargeable with it; and let Principles be judged of by what they are in themselves, and not by the Abuses which bad Men may make of them: If any Argument can be drawn from these, we may as well argue against the Truth and Excellency of Philosophy, because *Cicero* espoused the Principles of Persecution, and *Antoninus* the Philosopher authorized all the Cruelties attending it. But the Question in these Cases is not, what one who calls himself a Philosopher or a Christian doth, but what true Philosophy and genuine Christianity

stianity lead to and teach; and if Persecution be the natural Effect of either of them, 'tis neither in my Inclination or Intention to defend them.

S E C T. VI.

Persecutions by the Mahometans.

IT may be thought needless to bring the *Mahometans* into this Reckoning, it being well known that their avowed Method of propagating Religion is by the Sword; and that it was a Maxim of *Mahomet*, *Not to suffer two Religions to be in Arabia*. But this is not all; as they are Enemies to all other Religions but their own, so they are against Toleration of Hereticks amongst themselves, and have oftentimes punished them with Death. *Hottinger* gives us an Account of a famous Dispute amongst them concerning the *Coran*, whether it was *the created or uncreated Word of God*? Many of their Califfs were of opinion that it was created, and issued their Orders that the *Musselmén* should be compelled to believe it. And as for those who denied it, many were whipped; others put in Chains; and others murdered. Many also were slain, for not praying in a right Posture towards the Temple at *Mecca*: The same Author farther tells us, that there are some Hereticks, who whenever they are found, are burnt to Death. The Enmity between the *Persians* and *Turks*, upon account of their religious Difference, is irreconcilable and mortal; so that they would each of them rather tolerate a Christian than one another. But I pass from these Things to the History of Christian Persecutions.

BOOK II.

Of the Persecutions under the Christian Emperors.

IF any Person was to judge of the Nature and Spirit of the Christian Religion, by the Spirit and Conduct only of too many who have professed to believe it in all Nations, and almost throughout all Ages of the Christian Church, he could scarce fail to censure it as an Institution unworthy the God of Order and Peace, subversive of the Welfare and Happiness of Societies, and designed to enrich and aggrandize a Few only, at the Expence of the Liberty, Reason, Consciences, Substance, and Lives of others. For what Confusions and Calamities, what Ruins and Desolations, what Rapines and Murthers, have been introduced into the World, under the *pretended Authority* of Jesus Christ, and supporting and propagating Christianity? What is the best part of our Ecclesiastical History better than an History of the Pride and Ambition, the Avarice and Tyranny, the Treachery and Cruelty of some, and of the Persecutions and dreadful Miseries of others? And what could an unprejudiced Person, acquainted with this melancholy Truth, and who had never seen the sacred Records, nor informed himself from thence of the genuine Nature of Christianity, think, but that it was one of the worst Religions in the World, as tending to destroy all the natural Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion, and inspiring its Votaries with that *Wisdom which is from beneath, and which is earthly, sensual and devilish*? If this Charge could be justly fixed upon the Religion

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gion of Christ, it would be unworthy the Regard of every wise and good Man, and render it both the Interest and Duty of every Nation in the World to reject it.

S E C T. I.

Of the Dispute concerning Easter.

IT must be allowed by all who know any thing of the Progress of the Christian Religion, that the first Preachers and Propagators of it used none of the vile Methods of Persecution and Cruelty to support and spread it. Both their Doctrines and Lives destroy every Suspicion of this Nature; and yet in their Times the Beginnings of this Spirit appeared: *Diotrephes loved the Prebeminence*, and therefore would not own and receive the inspired Apostle. We also read, that there were great Divisions and Schisms in the Church of *Corinth*, and that many grievous Disorders were caused therein, by their ranking themselves under different Leaders and Heads of Parties, one being for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, and others for *Cephas*. These Animosities were difficultly healed by the Apostolick Authority; but do not however appear to have broken out into mutual Hatreds, to the open Disgrace of the Christian Name and Profession. The Primitive Christians seem for many Years generally to have maintained the warmest Affection for each other, and to have distinguished themselves by their mutual Love, the great Characteristick of the Disciples of Christ. The Gospels, and the Epistles of the Apostles, all breathe with this amiable Spirit, and abound with Exhortations to cultivate this God-like Disposition.

'Tis reported of St. John, that in his extreme old Age at *Ephesus*, being carried into the Church by the Disciples, upon account of his great Weakness, he used to say nothing else every Time he was brought there, but this remarkable Sentence, *Filioli diligite alterutrum, Little Children love one another.* And when some of the Brethren were tired with hearing so often the same Thing, and asked him, Sir, Why do you always repeat this Sentence? he answered, with a Spirit worthy an Apostle, *Quia preceptum Domini est, et si solum fiat, sufficit; 'Tis the Command of the Lord, and the fulfilling of the Law.* Precepts of this kind so frequently inculcated, could not but have a very good Influence in keeping alive the Spirit of Charity and mutual Love. And indeed the Primitive Christians were so very remarkable for this Temper, that they were taken notice of on this very Account, and recommended even by their Enemies as Patterns of Beneficence and Kindness.

But at length, in the second Century, the Spirit of Pride and Domination appeared publickly, and created great Disorders and Schisms amongst Christians. There had been a Controversy of some standing, on what Day *Easter* should be celebrated. The *Asiatick* Churches thought that it ought to be kept on the same Day on which the *Jews* held the Passover, the fourteenth Day of *Nisan* their first Month, on whatsoever Day of the Week it should fall out. The Custom of other Churches was different, who kept the Festival of *Easter* only on that Lord's Day which was next after the fourteenth of the Moon. This Controversy appears at first View to be of no manner of Importance, as there is no Command in the sacred Writings to keep this Festival at all, much less specifying the particular Day on which it should be celebrated.

Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. *Eusebius* tells us from *Irenæus*, that *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* came to *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* on account of this very Controversy; and that though they differed from one another in this and some other lesser Things, yet they embraced one another with a Kiss of Peace; *Polycarp* neither persuading *Anicetus* to conform to his Custom, nor *Anicetus* breaking off Communion with *Polycarp*, for not complying with his. This was a Spirit and Conduct worthy these Christian Bishops: But *Victor* the Roman Prelate acted a more haughty and violent part; for after he had received the Letters of the *Asiatick* Bishops, giving their Reasons for their own Practice, he immediately excommunicated all the Churches of *Asia*, and those of the neighbouring Provinces, for Heterodoxy; and by his Letters declared all the Brethren unworthy of Communion. This Conduct was greatly displeasing to some other of the Bishops, who exhorted him to mind the Things that made for Peace, Unity, and Christian Love. *Irenæus* especially, in the Name of all his Brethren, the Bishops of *France*, blamed him for thus censuring whole Churches of Christ, and puts him in mind of the peaceable Spirit of several of his Predecessors, who did not break off Communion with their Brethren upon account of such lesser Differences as these. Indeed this Action of Pope *Victor* was a very insolent Abuse of Excommunication; and is an abundant Proof that the Simplicity of the Christian Faith was greatly departed from; in that Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy were made to depend on Conformity or Non-Conformity to the Modes and Circumstances of certain Things, when there was no Shadow of any Order for the Things themselves in the sacred Writings; and that the Lust of Power, and the Spirit of Pride, had too much possessed some

some of the Bishops of the Christian Church. The same *Victor* also excommunicated one *Theodotus*, Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. for being unsound in the Doctrine of the Trinity.

However, it must be owned, in Justice to some of the Primitive Fathers, that they were not of *Victor's* violent and persecuting Spirit. *Tertullian*, who flourished under *Severus*, in his Book to *Scapula*, tells us, *Every one hath a natural Right to worship according to his own Persuasion; for no Man's Religion can be hurtful, or profitable to his Neighbour; nor can it be a part of Religion to compel Men to Religion, which ought to be voluntarily embraced, and not thro' Constraint.* *Cyprian* also agrees with *Tertullian* his Master. In his Letter to *Maximus* the Epist. 54. Ed. Fell. Presbyter he says, 'Tis the sole Prerogative of the Lord, to whom the iron Rod is committed, to break the earthen Vessels. The Servant cannot be greater than his Lord; nor should any one arrogate to himself, what the Father hath committed to the Son only, viz. to winnow and purge the Floor, and separate by any human Judgment the Chaff from the Wheat. This is proud Obstinacy and sacrilegious Presumption, and proceeds from wicked Madness. And whilst some are always assuming to themselves more Dominion than is consistent with Justice, they perish from the Church; and whilst they insolently extol themselves, they lose the Light of Truth, being blinded by their own Haughtiness. To these I shall add *Laëtantius*, tho' forty Years later than *Cyprian*. They are convinced, Lib. 5. c. 20. says he, that there is nothing more excellent than Religion, and therefore think that it ought to be defended with Force. But they are mistaken, both in the Nature of Religion, and in the proper Methods to support it: For Religion is to be defended, not by Murder, but Persuasion; not by Cruelty, but Patience; not by Wickedness, but Faith: Those are the Methods of bad Men; these

of good. If you attempt to defend Religion by Blood, and Torments, and Evil, this is not to defend, but to violate and pollute it: For there is nothing should be more free than the Choice of our Religion; in which, if the Consent of the Worshipper be wanting, it becomes intirely void and ineffectual. The true Way therefore of defending Religion is by Faith, a patient suffering and dying for it: This renders it acceptable to God, and strengthens its Authority and Influence. This was the Persuasion of some of the Primitive Fathers: But of how different a Spirit were others?

Epist. 13.

As the Primitive Christians had any Intervals from Persecution they became more profligate in their Morals, and more quarrelsome in their Tempers. As the Revenues of the several Bishops increased they grew more ambitious, less capable of Contradiction, more haughty and arrogant in their Behaviour, more envious and revengeful in every part of their Conduct, and more regardless of the Simplicity and Gravity of their Profession and Character. The Accounts I have before given of them from *Cyprian* and *Eusebius* before the *Dioclesian* Persecution, to which I might add the latter one of *St. Jerom*, are very melancholy and affecting, and shew how vastly they were degenerated from the Piety and peaceable Spirit of many of their Predecessors, and how ready they were to enter into the worst Measures of Persecution, could they but have got the Opportunity and Power.

S E C T. II.

Of the Persecutions begun by Constantine.

UNDER *Constantine* the Emperor, when the Christians were restored to full Liberty, their Churches rebuilt, and the imperial Edicts every where published in their Favour, they immediately began to discover what Spirit they were of; as soon as ever they had the Temptations of Honour and large Revenues before them. *Constantine's* Letters are full Proof of the Jealousies and Animosities that reigned amongst them. In his E. H. l. 10. Letters to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome* he tells him, c. 5. that he had been informed that *Cæcilianus* Bishop of *Carthage* had been accused of many Crimes by some of his Collegues, Bishops of *Africa*; and that it was very grievous to him to see so great a Number of People divided into Parties, and the Bishops disagreeing amongst themselves. And though the Ibid. Emperor was willing to reconcile them by a friendly Reference of the Controversy to *Miltiades* and others, yet in spite of all his Endeavours they maintained their Quarrels, and factious Opposition to each other, and through secret Grudges and Hatred would not acquiesce in the Sentence of those he had appointed to determine the Affair. So that, as he complained to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, those who ought to have maintained a brotherly Affection and peaceable Disposition towards each other, did in a scandalous and detestible Manner separate from one another, and gave Occasion to the common Enemies of Christianity to deride and scoff at them. For this Reason he summoned a Council to meet at *Arles* in *France*, that after an impartial Hearing of the several Par-

De Vir.
Con. l. i.
c. 44.

ties, this Controversy which had been carried on for a long while in a very intemperate Manner, might be brought to a Friendly and Christian Compromise. *Eusebius* farther adds, that he not only called together Councils in the several Provinces upon account of the Quárrels that arose amongst the Bishops, but that he himself was present in them, and did all he could to promote Peace amongst them. However, all he could do had but little Effect; and it must be owned that he himself greatly contributed to prevent it, by his large Endowment of Churches, by the Riches and Honours which he conferred on the Bishops, and especially by his authorizing them to sit as Judges upon the Consciences and Faith of others; by which he confirmed them in a worldly Spirit, the Spirit of Domination, Ambition, Pride and Avarice, which hath in all Ages proved fatal to the Peace and true Interest of the Christian Church.

E.H. l. 10.
c. 5.

In the first Edict, given us at large by *Eusebius*, published in favour of the Christians, he acted the part of a wise, good, and impartial Governor; in which, without mentioning any particular Sects, he gave full liberty to all Christians, ^a and to all other Persons whatsoever, of following that Religion which they thought best. But this Liberty was of no long Duration, and soon abridged in reference both to the Christians and Heathens. For although in this first mentioned Edict he orders the Churches and Effects of the Christians in general to be restored to them, yet in one immediately following he confines this Grant to the Catholick Church. After this, in a Letter to

^a Ακολουθῶν τῇ πτυχίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ τῶν γινεσθαι φανερῶν εἶναι, ὅπως ἐξῆς τῶν ἐκαστοῦ εἴη τὴν αἰρεσίν, ἢ τὴν μέλειν ὅποιον δ' αὖ βούληται δοῦναι.

Miltiades

Miltiades Bishop of *Rome*, complaining of the Differences fomented by the *African* Bishops, he lets him know, that he had so great a Reverence for the Catholick Church, that he would not have him suffer in any Place any Schism or Difference whatsoever. In another to *Cæcilianus* Bishop of *Carthage*, after giving him to understand, that he had ordered *Ursus* to pay his Reverence three thousand Pieces, and *Heraclides* to disburse to him whatever other Sums his Reverence should have occasion for; he orders him to complain of all Persons who should go on to corrupt the People of the most holy Catholick Church by any evil and false Doctrine, to *Anulinus* the Pro-Consul, and *Patricius*, to whom he had given Instructions on this Affair, that if they persevered in such Madness they might be punished according to his Orders. 'Tis easy to guess what the Catholick Faith and Church meant, viz. that which was approved by the Bishops, who had the greatest Interest in his Favour.

E. H. l. 10.
c. 6.

As to the Heathens, soon after the Settlement of the whole Empire under his Government, he sent into all the Provinces Christian Presidents, forbidding them, and all other Officers of superior Dignity, to sacrifice, and confining to such of them as were Christians the Honours due to their Characters and Stations; hereby endeavouring to support the Kingdom of Christ, which is not of this World, by Motives purely worldly, viz. the Prospects of temporal Preferments and Honours; and notwithstanding the excellent Law he had before published, That every one should have free Exercise of his own Religion, and worship such Gods as they thought proper, he soon after prohibited the old Religion, viz. the Worship of Idols in Cities and Country; commanding that no Statues

De vit.
Const. l. 2.

c. 44.

Ibid. c. 45.

Ibid. c. 56. Statues of the Gods should be erected, nor any Sacrifices offered upon their Altars. And yet notwithstanding this Abridgment of the Liberty of Religion, he declares in his Letters afterwards, written to all the several Governors of his Provinces, that though he wished the Ceremonies of the Temples, and the Power of Darkeness were wholly removed, he would force none, but that every one should have the Liberty of acting in Religion as he pleased.

'Tis not to be wonder'd at, that the Persons who advis'd these Edicts to suppress the ancient Religion of the Heathens, should be against tolerating any other amongst themselves, who should presume to differ from them in any Articles of the Christian Religion they had espoused; because if erroneous and false Opinions in Religion, as such, are to be prohibited or punished by the Civil Power, there is equal Reason for persecuting a Christian, whose Belief is wrong, and whose Practice is erroneous, as for persecuting Persons of any other false Religion whatsoever; and the same Temper and Principles that lead to the latter, will also lead to and justify the former. And as the Civil Magistrate, under the Direction of his Priests, must always judge for himself what is Truth and Error in Religion, his Laws for supporting the one, and punishing the other, must always be in Consequence of this Judgment. And therefore if *Constantine* and his Bishops were right in prohibiting Heathenism by Civil Laws, because they believed it erroneous and false, *Dioclesian* and *Licinius*, and their Priests, were equally right in prohibiting Christianity by Civil Laws, because they believed it not only erroneous and false, but the highest Impiety and Blasphemy against their Gods, and even a Proof of Atheism it self. And
by

by the same Rule every Christian, that hath Power, is in the right to persecute his Christian Brother, whenever he believes him to be in the wrong. And in truth, they seem generally to have acted upon this Principle; for which Party soever of them could get uppermost was against all Toleration and Liberty for those who differed from them, and endeavoured by all Methods to oppress and destroy them.

The Sentiments of the Primitive Christians, at least for near three Centuries, in reference to the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, were, generally speaking, pretty uniform; nor do there appear to have been any publick Quarrels about this Article of the Christian Faith. Some few Persons ^{Euseb.} indeed, differed from the commonly received ^{E. H. 1. 5.} Opinion. One *Theodotus* a Tanner, under the ^{c. 28.} Reign of *Commodus*, asserted Christ was a mere Man, and on this Account was excommunicated, with other of his Followers, by Pope *Victor*, who appears to have been very liberal in his Censures against others. *Artemon* propagated the same erroneous Opinion under *Severus*. *Beryllus* also, an ^{Ibid. 1. 6.} Arabian Bishop under *Gordian*, taught, ^{c. 33.} That our Saviour had no proper personal Subsistence before his becoming Man, nor any proper Godhead of his own, but only the Father's Godhead residing in him; but afterwards alter'd his Opinion, being convinced of his Error by the Arguments of *Origen*. *Sabellius* ^{1. 7. c. 27,} also propagated much the same Doctrine, denying also the real Personality of the Holy Ghost. After him *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, ^{28, 29.} and many of his Clergy, publicly avowed the same Principles concerning Christ, and were excommunicated by a large Council of Bishops. But though these Excommunications, upon account of Differences in Opinion, prove that the Bishops

Bishops had set up for Judges of the Faith, and assumed a Power and Dominion over the Consciences of others, yet as they had no civil Effects, and were not enforced by any penal Laws, they were not attended with any publick Confusions, to the open Reproach of the Christian Church.

But when once Christianity was settled by the Laws of the Empire, and the Bishops free to act as they pleased, without any fear of publick Enemies to disturb and oppress them, they fell into more shameful and violent Quarrels, upon account of their Differences concerning the Nature and Dignity of Christ. The Controversy first began between *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Arius* one of his Presbyters, and soon spread it self into other Churches, enflaming Bishops against Bishops, who out of a Pretence to support Divine Truth excited Tumults, and entertained irreconcilable Hatreds towards one another. These Divisions of the Prelates set the Christian People together by the Ears, as they happened to favour their different Leaders and Heads of Parties; and the Dispute was managed with such Violence, that it soon reached the whole Christian World, and gave Occasion to the Heathens in several Places to ridicule the Christian Religion upon their publick Theatres. How different were the Tempers of the Bishops and Clergy of these Times from the excellent Spirit of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the Reign of *Decius*, who writing to *Novatus* upon account of the Disturbance he had raised in the Church of *Rome*, by the Severity of his Doctrine, in not admitting those who lapsed into Idolatry in Times of Persecution ever more to Communion, though they gave all the Marks of a true Repentance and Conversion, tells him,

One

De vit.
Const. l. 2.
c. 61.
Soc. E. H.
l. 1. c. 6.

Euseb. l. 6.
c. 45.

^b One ought to suffer any Thing in the World rather than divide the Church of God.

The Occasion of the *Arian* Controversy was Soc. E. H. this^c. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* speaking in^{l. 1. c. 5.} a very warm Manner concerning the Trinity before the Presbyters and Clergy of his Church, affirmed there was an *Unity in the Trinity*, and particularly that *the Son was Co-eternal and Consubstantial, and of the same Dignity with the Father.* *Arius*, one of his Presbyters, thought that the Bishop, by this Doctrine, was introducing the

^b Εἰδὲν μὲν γὰρ καὶ παν ὅτιεν παθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μὴ διακοῦσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Θεοῦ.

^c *Theodoret* indeed gives another Account of this Matter, *Theod. l. 1. c. 2.* viz. That *Arius* was disappointed of the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* c. 2. by the Promotion of *Alexander*, and that this provoked him to oppose the Doctrine of the Bishop. But it should be considered c. 7, 14. that *Theodoret* lived an hundred Years after *Arius*, and appears to have had the highest Hatred of his Name and Memory. He tells us, *he was employed by the Devil; that he was an impious Wretch, and damned in the other World.* The Accusations of such a one deserve but little Credit, especially as there are no concurrent Testimonies to support them. Bishop *Alexander* never mentions it amongst those other Charges which he throws upon him, in his Letter to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Constantine* expressly ascribes the Rise of the Controversy to *Alexander's* inquisitory Temper, and to *Arius's* speaking of Things he ought never to have thought of. *Socrates* assures us it was owing to this, that *Arius* apprehended the Bishop taught the Doctrine of *Sabellius*. *Sozamen* imputes their Quarrel only to their Diversity of Sentiments. Bishop *Alexander* says he opposed *Arius*, p. 426. because he taught impious Doctrines concerning the Son; and *Arius* affirms he opposed *Alexander* on the same Account. Now whether *Theodoret's* single unsupported Testimony is to be preferred to these other Accounts, I leave every one that is a Judge of common Sense to determine. Nay, I think 'tis evident it must be a Slander, because the Bishop himself had an Esteem for *Arius*, after his Advancement to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, and, as *Gelasius Cyzicenus* tells us, *Κατενόησε προσεγγεῖν* l. 2. c. 1. *εγγίστα εαυτῷ*, made him the Presbyter next in Dignity to himself; which 'tis not probable he would have done, if he had seen in him any Tokens of Enmity because of his Promotion.

Sabellian

Sabellian Heresy, and therefore opposed him, arguing in this manner: ^d *If the Father begot the Son, he who was begotten must have a beginning of his Existence; and from hence, says he, 'tis manifest, that there was a Time when he was not; the necessary*

E. H. 1. 1. C. 15. *Consequence of which he affirmed was this, That he had his Subsistence out of Things not existing. Sozomen adds farther, that he asserted, ' That by virtue of his Free-will the Son was capable of Vice as well as Virtue; and that he was the mere Creature and Work of God. The Bishop being greatly disturbed by these Expressions of Arius, upon account of the Novelty of them, and not able to bear such an Opposition from one of his Presbyters to his own Principles^f, commanded (εκελευσε, admonished, as President of the Council, to whom it belonged to enjoin Silence, and put an end to the Dispute) Arius to forbear*

^d Εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱόν, ἀρχὴν ὑπαρξέως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθεὶς. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου δηλοῦν, ὅτι ἢν ὅτε ἐκ ἢν ὁ υἱὸς ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ ἀναγκῆς ἐξ ἐκ ὧν ἔχεν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

^e Καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν ὑπαρχειν, καὶ κλισμα καὶ ποιημα, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά.

Brief Re- was of a Temper not able to bear Opposition, 'tis an Addition of
marks, p. 4. mine own, without any ground, that he can see, in the Historians;
Review, and quotes a Passage from Ruffinus the Historian, which says
p. 9. he was *Natura lenis et quietus*, Naturally mild and quiet; and
another from Sozomen, which tells us, that he used such a gentle
and candid Way with Arius, as to incur the Blame of some People
for shewing too much Countenance to him. But had he produced
an hundred more such Testimonies as these, it would have signi-
fied nothing: For against these we have the Testimony of a
certain Presbyter, Cotemporary with Arius, who assured Con-
stantia, the Emperor's Sister, that Arius was unjustly banished
and excommunicated, thro' the Hatred and private Enmity of
Alexander, who was moved with Enmity against him for his
great Reputation amongst the People. A Testimony that Con-
stantia fully believed, and that seems confirm'd by History.
E. H. For Sozomen tells us, that when Pope Alexander had commanded
p. 427. Arius to believe as he himself did, and could not prevail upon
him,

bear the Use of them, and to embrace the Doctrine of the Consubstantiality and Co-eternity of the Father and the Son. But *Arius* was not thus to be convinced, especially as a great Number of the Bishops and Clergy were of his Opinion, and supported him; and for this Reason himself and the Clergy of his Party were excommunicated, and expelled the Church, in a Council of near an Hundred of the *Egyptian* and *Lybian* Bishops met together for that Purpose, by the Bishop, who in this Case was both Party and Judge, the Enemy and Condemner of *Arius*. Upon this Treatment *Arius* and his Friends sent circular Letters to the several Bishops of the Church, giving them an Account of their Faith, and desiring that if they found their Sentiments orthodox, they would write to *Alexander* in their Favour; if they judged them wrong, they would give them Instructions how

him, and found that many of the Bishops and Clergy, who were present, thought *Arius* in the right, he immediately excommunicated him, and all the Clergy that were of his Opinion. This looks like Pride and Envy, at the growing Reputation of his Presbyter. But let us hear *Alexander* himself. Speaking of *Arius* and his Followers, he says, *That the same Men who* Theod. opposed the Deity of the Son of God, scruple not to reproach us. l. i. c. 4. And because, as he represents the Matter, they proclaimed p. 16. themselves wiser than the Ancients, and his own Teachers, and some of his Colleagues, and boasted of their own Wisdom, he cries out, as if they attempted to scale the very Heavens, O impious Arrogance, O unmeasurable Madness, O vain Glory, worthy of their Envy! For what? Because they pretended to be wiser than the Bishop, his Teachers, and those of his Party. And a little after he tells us, that *Arius* and *Achillas*, and their Party, were excommunicated, αλλοτεροι γενομενοι της ευσεβους Id. p. 19. ημων διδασκαλιας, because their Sentiments were contrary to our pious Doctrine; and quotes for his Vindication a Passage of St. Paul, If any Man preach to you besides what ye have received, let him be Anathema: As tho' his Explications of the Trinity were of equal Authority with St. Paul's Gospel.

to believe. Thus was the Dispute carried into the Christian Church; and the Bishops being divided in their Opinions, some of them wrote to *Alexander* not to admit *Arius* and his Party into Communion without renouncing their Principles, whilst others of them perswaded him to act a different Part. The Bishop not only followed the Advice of the former, but wrote Letters to the several Bishops not to communicate with any of them, nor to receive them if they should come

Soc. E. H. to them, nor to credit *Eusebius*, nor any other
l. 1. c. 6. Person that should write to them in their behalf, but to avoid them as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of the Souls of Men; and not so much as to salute them, or to have any Communion with them in their Crimes. *Eusebius*, who
Soz. l. 1. was Bishop of *Nicomedia*, sent several Letters to
c. 15. *Alexander*, exhorting him to let the Controversy peaceably drop, and to receive *Arius* into Communion; but finding him inflexible to all his repeated Entreaties, he got a Synod to meet in *Bitthynia*, from whence they wrote Letters to the other Bishops, to engage them to receive the *Arians* to their Communion, and to persuade *Alexander* to do the same. But all their Endeavours proved ineffectual, and by these unfriendly Dealings the Parties grew more enraged against each other, and the Quarrel became incurable.

'Tis, I confess, not a little surprizing, that the whole Christian World should be put into such a Flame upon account of a Dispute of so very abstruse and metaphysical a Nature, as this really was in the Course and Management of it. *Alexander's* Doctrine, as *Arius* represents it in his Letter to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, was this:
God

God is always, and the Son always. The same Time ^{Theod.}
 the Father, the same Time the Son. The Son co-exists ^{E. H. l. 1.}
 with God unbegottenly, being ever begotten, being un- ^{c. 5.}
 begottenly begotten. That God was not before the Son,
 no not in Conception, or the least Point of Time, he
 being ever God, ever a Son ^h: For the Son is out of
 God himself. Nothing could be more inexcusable,
 than the tearing the Churches in pieces upon ac-
 count of such high and subtle Points as these, ex-
 cept the Conduct of Arius, who on the other hand
 asserted, as Alexander, his Bishop, in his Letter to
 the Bishop of Constantinople, tells us, ⁱ That there ^{Id. l. 1.}
 was a Time when there was no Son of God, and that ^{c. 4.}
 he who before was not, afterwards existed; being made,
 whensoever he was made, just as any Man whatsoever;

Ἐστί οὖν ὁ Θεός, αἰὲν ὁ υἱός· ἀμὰ πάντες, ἀμὰ υἱός, συνυπαρ-
 χεῖ ἀγεννητῶς ὁ υἱός τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀγεννῆς ἐστίν, ἀγεννητογενὴς
 ἐστίν· ὅτε ἐπινόησεν ἢ ἀτομῶ τινι προαγεῖν ὁ Θεός τῷ υἱῷ· αἰ
 Θεός, αἰ υἱός· ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ Θεὸς ὁ υἱός.

^h He being ever God, ever a Son; αἰ Θεός, αἰ υἱός. This ^{Remarks,}
 Passage Dr. B. excepts against, as not rightly translated, and ^{p. 6.}
 would have it rendred, God is always, a Son always, and says,
 'tis exactly the same with the first Clause, αἰ ὁ Θεός, αἰ ὁ υἱός,
 except the Insertion of the Article in it; i. e. 'tis exactly the same,
 excepting one very material Difference. The Articles in the
 first Clause, αἰ ὁ Θεός, αἰ ὁ υἱός, evidently distinguish the diffe-
 rent Persons. But the latter expressions, αἰ Θεός, αἰ υἱός,
 have no such Article of Distinction, and are used as a Reason
 why God was not prior to the Son, either in Conception, or
 least Point of Time, because God was ever God, and ever a Son,
 viz. because ever a Father, as Alexander himself teaches:
 Πατέρα αἰ εἶναι πατέρα. Ἐστὶ δὲ πατὴρ αἰ παρὸντος τῷ υἱῷ, ^{Theod.}
 δι' ὃν χρηματίζεται πατήρ. Αἰ δὲ παρὸντος αὐτῷ τῷ υἱῷ, αἰ ^{l. 1. c. 4.}
 ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ τελείος: i. e. The Father is always a Father. He ^{p. 13.}
 is a Father because the Son is always present with him, upon
 whose account he becomes a Father. He is therefore a perfect
 Father, because the Son is always present with him.

ⁱ Ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ νῦν ὁ υἱός τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ γεγενῆσιν ὑπὲρ ὃν ὁ πα-
 τὴρ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων, τοιαύτῳ γενομένῳ, ὅτε καὶ ποτε γεγενῆσιν,
 οἷός τε καὶ πᾶς εἶναι πεφυκεν ἀνθρώπῳ· οἷς ἀκολουθῶς καὶ φασὶν
 αὐτὸν τρεπλὴς εἶναι φύσεως, ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἐπισκεχμένον.

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and that therefore he was of a mutable Nature, and equally receptive of Vice and Virtue, and other Things of the like kind. If these were the Things taught, and publickly avowed by *Alexander* and *Arius*, as each represents the other's Principles, I perswade my self, that every sober Man will think they both deserved Censure, for thus leaving the plain Account of Scripture, introducing Terms of their own Invention into a Doctrine of pure Revelation, and at last censuring and writing one against another, and dividing the whole Church of Christ upon account of them.

But 'tis no uncommon Thing for warm Disputants to mistake and misrepresent each other; and that this was partly the Case in the present Controversy, is, I think, evident beyond Dispute; * *Alexander* describing the Opinions of *Arius*, not as he held them himself, but according to the Consequences he imagined to follow from them. Thus

* I have a little alter'd my Judgment since the first Edition of this History, in which I had represented *Arius* as charging *Alexander* with the Consequences which *Arius* drew from the Bishop's Principles: Whereas I now think, that the Bishop did use the Expressions *Arius* ascribed to him; and particularly *αγεννητογενής*, *unbegottenly begotten*, because they seem consistent with his Doctrine: See the Word explained p. 57. Note ^d. But I am still of opinion, contrary to Dr. B. that *Arius* was misrepresented. And my Reasons are many. *Arius* expressly declares himself to be of contrary Sentiments to what the Bishop and others would charge upon him; and particularly with respect to the Immutability and Eternity of the Son, and the Excellency of his Nature above all Creatures. But it seems

Rev. p. 12.

the Matter was debated with great Freedom at Alexandria, and we can't suppose the Council there could be ignorant of the Sentiments of *Arius*, or so base as to charge on him more than he asserted; and as to the Council of Nice, they examined *Arius* in Person, and there could be no room to suspect they should either mistake or misrepresent his Sentiments. But the good Doctor must excuse me from too implicit a Belief in Councils; especially

Thus *Arius* asserted, *The Son hath a Beginning, and is from none of the Things that do exist*; not meaning that he was not from Everlasting, before ever the Creation, Time, and Ages had a Being, or that he

as he hath not produced the Examinations of those Councils, and *Arius's* Answers to their Questions, which might give great light into this Affair. The Determinations of the Council of *Alexandria* don't seem to have been made with that Impartiality as might be desired. *Alexander* was in his own Diocese; and the Bishops who composed the Council were of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, and therefore probably many of them under the Influence of *Alexander*, who in the Trial of *Arius*, was both his Accuser and Judge. Besides, the Condemnation of *Arius* at this Council appears to have been far from unanimous, because many of the Bishops and Clergy, who were there present, thought *Arius* in the right; and a great Number of the People of *Alexandria* adhered to him, and compassionated him as a Person greatly injured, and cast out of the Church *anætas*, *indicta causa*, without being heard, or fairly examined. So that the Censure of the Bishop hath the Appearance of Haltness and Rashness, altho' some furious Spirits blamed him for exercising more Patience than became him. However, the Council of Nice, the Doctor thinks, could hardly be liable to such Suspicion, because they were so careful to examine *Arius* in Person, and take his Opinions from his own Mouth. 'Tis pity we had not these Examinations extant, that we might judge of the Fairness of them. There is some ground to suspect that they charged *Arius* with more than he really held, at least with Consequences from his Principles which he never own'd; and particularly with the Mutability of the Nature of the Son of God. For, in his Letter to *Eusebius*, and to *Alexander* from *Nicomedia*, he expressly asserts the Immutability and Unchangeableness of the Son. And in that Extract out of his *Thalia*, given by *Athanasius*, if it be genuine, yet there is not one Word to denote his being capable of Virtue or Vice. *Constantia's* Chaplain affirmed he was injured by the Synod, and did not believe as was reported of him. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* affirm, that he was not the Person he was accused to be; which they knew partly from his Letters to them, and partly from personal Conversation with them. *Arius* in his Confession to *Constantine* owns no such Things; and *Constantine* ordered his Cause to be re-examined by the Council of *Jerusalem*, that it might appear whether he was Orthodox or not, and whether he was ensnared or oppressed thro' Envy. The

he was created like other Beings, or that like the rest of the Creation he was mutable in his Nature. *Arius* expressly declares the contrary, before his Condemnation by the Council of *Nice*, in his Letter to *Eusebius*, his intimate Friend, from whom he had no reason to conceal his most secret Sentiments, and says, ¹ *This is what we have and do profess, That the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any manner a part of the unbegotten God, nor from any part of the material World, but that by the Will and Council of the Father he existed before all Times and Ages, perfect God, the only begotten and unchangeable, and that therefore before he was begotten or formed he was not, i. e. as he explains himself, ^m There never was a Time when he was unbegotten.* His affirming therefore that the Son had a Beginning, was only saying, that he was in the whole of his Existence from the Father, as the Origin and Fountain of his Being and Deity, and not any Denial of his being from before all Times and Ages; and his saying that he was no part of God, nor derived from Things that do exist, was not denying his Generation from God before all Ages, or his being compleatly God himself, or his being produced

Theod.
E. H. l. 1.
c. 5.

Devit.
Conf. l. 4.
c. 41, 43.

Council accordingly declared him innocent and orthodox, and worthy to be received again into Communion; a Council called by *Eusebius* an Army of God to oppose the Devil, a great Choir of God, and consisting of the most famous Bishops from the several Provinces; amongst whom were some also who were esteem'd orthodox, and who had sat in the Council of *Nice* it self. Why should not this divine Choir, and Army of God, have as much Esteem as the divine Choir and Army of God against the Devil at *Nice*?

¹ Οτι ο υιός εκ εσιν αγεννητός, κδε μερς αγεννης κατ' εδνα. τερπων, κδε εξ υποκειμενων τινος. αλλ' οςι θεληματι κ βολη υπεση περ χειρων κ περ αιωνων, πληρης θεος, μονογενης, αναλλαιωτος, κ πειν γεννηθη—εκ ην.

^m Αγεννητός γδ εκ ην.

after

after a more excellent Manner than the Creatures ; but that as he was always from God, so he was different both from him, and all other Beings, and a Sort of middle Nature between God and his Creatures ; whose Beginning, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* writes to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, was ^a not *Id. Ibid.* only inexplicable by Words, but unconceivable by the c. 6. Understanding of Men, and by all other Beings superior to Men, and who was formed after the most perfect Likeness to the Nature and Power of God. This is the strongest Evidence that neither *Arius* nor his first Friends put the Son upon a Level with the Creatures, but that they were in many Respects of the same Sentiments with those who condemned them. Thus *Alexander* declares the Son to be ^o before all Ages. *Arius* expressly says the same, that he was ^p before all Times and Ages. *Alexander*, that ^q he was begotten, not out of nothing, but from the Father who was. *Arius*, that ^r he was the begotten God, the Word from the Father. *Alexander* says, the Father only is unbegotten. *Arius*, that there never was a Time when the Son was not begotten. *Alexander*, that the Subsistence of the Son is inexplicable even by Angels. *Eusebius*, that his Beginning is inconceivable and inexplicable by Men and Angels. *Alexander*, that the Father was always a Father because of the Son. *Arius*, that the Son was not before he was begotten ; and that he was from before all Ages

^a Προς τελειαν ομοιοτητα διαθεσεως τε κη δυναμεως τε ποιητικοθ γενομενον· κ την αρχην κ λογω μονον αδιηγητον, αλλα κ εννοια εκ ανθρωπων μονον αλλα κ των υπερ ανθρωπου παλιν ειναι ακαταληπτον πεπιστευκαμεν.

^o Πρωτοιωνιθ.

^p Προς χρονων κη προς αιωνων.

^q Γεννηθεντα, εκ εκ της μη οντος, αλλ' εκ της οντος πα-
τρειθ.

^r Γον εξ αυτου—γεγεννημενον θεον λογον. *Soz.* p. 485.

the begotten Son of God ¹. Alexander, that ¹ he was of an unchangeable Nature. Arius, that ^u he was unchangeable. Alexander, that he was the unchangeable Image of his Father. Eusebius, that he was made after the perfect Likeness of the Disposition and Power of him that made him. Alexander, that all Things have received their Essence from the Father thro' the Son. Arius, that God made by the Word all Things in Heaven and Earth. Alexander, that the Word, who made all Things, could not be of the same Nature with the Things he made. Arius, that he was the perfect Creature or Production of God, but not as one of the Creatures ^x. Arius again, Theod. E. H. l. i. that ^y the Son was no part of God, nor from any S. 4. Things that did exist. Alexander, that the only begotten Nature was a ^z middle Nature, between the unbegotten Father, and the Things created by him out of nothing. And yet, notwithstanding all these Things, when Alexander gives an Account of the Principles of Arius to the Bishops, he represents them in all the Consequences he thought fit to draw from them, and charges him with holding, that the Son was made like every other Creature absolutely out of nothing, and that therefore his Nature was mutable, and susceptible equally of Virtue and Vice; with many other invidious and unscriptural Doctrines, which Arius plainly appears not to have maintained or taught.

¹ Περ πάντων των αιωνων γεγεννημενον θεον λογον. Soz. p. 485.

¹ Ατρεπτε ρουσεως τυςχανει.

^u Αναλλαωτος.

^x Epist. ad Alex. apud Athan. de Synod. p. 729:

^y Οτι ε μερς Θεου εστιν, εδε εξ υποκειμενου τινος.

^z Μεσσειευσα παρς αγεννης και των κτισθεντων υπο αυτης ες ες αιων,

I do not however imagine that *Alexander* and *Arius* were of one Mind in all the Parts of this Controversy. They seemed to differ in the following Things. Particularly about the strict Eternity of the Generation of the Son. *Alexander* affirmed that it was *απαρχος*, *absolutely without Beginning*; and that there was no imaginable Point of Time in which the Father was prior to the Son; and that the Soul could not conceive or think of any Distance between them^a. *Arius*, on the other hand, maintained, *αρχὴν ἔχει ὁ υἱος*, *The Son hath a Beginning*, *ἢν ποτε ὅτε ἔκ ἦν*, *There was a Time when he was not*; by which he did not mean, that he was not before all Times and Ages, or the Creation of the Worlds visible and invisible; but that the very Notion of begetting and begotten doth necessarily, in the very Nature of Things imply, that the Begetter must be some Point of Time at least in our Conception, prior to what is begotten. And this is agreeable to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Fathers. They held indeed many of them, such as ^a*Justin Martyr*, *Tatian*, ^b*Athe-Dial. p. nagoras*, ^c*Tertullian*, *Novatian*, *Lactantius*, &c. 112, 413. that *Logos*, i. e. Power, Wisdom, and Reason^{p. 20, &c.} existed in God the Father strictly from Eternity, ^{De Reg. fid. p. 240.} but without any proper Hypostasis or Personality ^{De ver. Sap. p. 371.} of its own. But that before the Creation of the Worlds, God the Father did emit, or produce, or generate this *Logos*, Reason, or Wisdom; whereby what was before the internal *Logos* or Wisdom of the

^a Οὐδ' ἀκρι τινος ἐννοίας τὸ το φαντασίσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς δυναμένης.

^b Εξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ θεός, νῦν αἰδίου ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λόγον, αἰδίου λογικὸς ὢν, *Athenag. Legat. c. 10.*

^c Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia — ceterum ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet — Hanc Græci Λόγον dicunt — *Adversus Prax.*

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Father, existing eternally in and inseparably from him, had now its proper Hypostasis, Subsistence, or Personality. Not that the Father hereby became *αλογος*, or destitute of Reason, but that this Production proceeded after an ineffable and inexplicable Manner. And this Production of the Word some of them never scrupled to affirm was posterior to the Father, and that the Father was prior to the Son as thus begotten. Thus Tertullian: *Non sermonalis a principio, sed rationalis Deus, etiam ante principium; et quia ipse quoque sermo ratione consistens, priorem eam ut substantiam suam ostendat. Nam etsi Deus nondum sermonem suum miserat,—cum ratione sua cogitans atque disponens, sermonem eam efficiebat, quam sermone tractabat.* And afterwards, *Tunc etiam ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit Deus fiat lex. Hæc est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit,* Adver. Prax. Thus also Novatian: *Unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini, neque majestati, neque virtuti quicquam nec dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest. Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, sermo filius natus est.—Quin et Pater illum etiam præcedit, quod necesse est prior sit, qua pater sit; quoniam antecedit necesse est eum qui habet originem ille qui originem nescit,* De Reg. Fidei. From these Passages 'tis plain, that they consider'd the Son under a twofold Character, as the Reason, and as the Word of God. As the Reason of God, he was eternally in the Father, unoriginated, unbegotten, underived. As the Word of God, he was *Missus, Creatus, Genitus, Prolatus*, and received his distinct Subsistence and Personality then, when God said, *Let there be Light*; and on this Account the Father was, as Novatian speaks, *as a Father prior to the Son.* And as Tertullian says, *Et pater Deus est, et judex Deus est; non tamen ideo pater et judex semper, quia Deus semper.*

semper. Nam nec pater potuit esse ante filium, nec iudex ante delictum. Fuit autem tempus, cum et delictum et filius non fuit, quod Iudicem et qui Patrem Dominum faceret, Advers. Hermog. i.e. God is a Father and a Judge. But it doth not thence follow that he was always a Father and always a Judge, because always God: For he could not be a Father before the Son, nor a Judge before the Offence. But there was a Time when there was no Offence, and when the Son was not, by which God became a Judge and Father ^d.

Another Thing in which *Alexander* and *Arius* differed, was in the Use of certain Words, describing the Production and Generation of the Son of God. *Alexander* denied that *he* was made or created, and would not apply to him any Word by which the Production of the Creatures was denoted. Whereas *Arius*, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, did not scruple to affirm that he was κτιστος, δημιουργος, Created, founded, and the like. And for this they quoted that Passage, *Prov. vii. 22, &c.* as rendred

^d If Dr. B. was not too wise to learn, I would here help him to an Explication of those hard Words, ἀγεννητογενής, and ἀρχος, not γένεσις as the Doctor hath it, but γέννησις. At least 'tis the only one I can think of, tho' he seems to have no manner of Conception of their true Meaning. The Son then is ἀγεννητογενής, *unbegotten*, as the essential Wisdom of the Father; and *begotten*, as the Word proceeding from him. *Without Beginning*, as the eternal Reason of God; but *begotten*, or *produced*, as the Word by which he created the Worlds. Thus *Alexander* himself partly argues: Τι δε εκ ανοσιον το λεγειν ποτε μη ειναι την σοφian τε δευ—η την δυναμιν τε δευ μη υπαρχειν ποτε, η του λογον αυτε ηκρωτηριασαι? Is it not impious to say, that there was a Time when the Wisdom and Power of God were not, or when his Reason was imperfect? *Epist. ad Alexand.* *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* expressly gives this Account of it; Και πειν ενεργεια γεννηθηναι, δυναμει ην εν τω Θεοδ, παρει ἀγεννητως; Before he was actually begotten, he was potentially in the Father in an unbegotten Manner.

by

by the LXX. *The Lord created me the Beginning of his Way, he founded me before the Age, and begat me before all the Hills.* They did not however hereby put him upon a Level with the Creatures. For tho' *Arius* says he was κλισμα τε δευ τελειον, *the perfect Creature of God*, yet he immediately subjoins, αλλ' οχ' ως εν των κλισματων, *yet not as one of the Creatures*; and affirms that he was αχρονος γεννηθεις, *begotten not in Time, or before all Time*, which could not be affirmed of the Creatures. And his Friend *Eusebius* says, that he was κλισος η δεμελιωτος η γεννητος τη σοφια η τη αναλλαιωτω η αργητω φύσει, η τη ομοιοτητι τη προς τον πεποιηθησα, *created, founded, and begotten with an unchangeable and ineffable Nature.* Nor were the Primitive Fathers afraid to use such-like Words. *Justin Martyr* says, he was πρωτον γεννημα τε δευ, *The first Production of God*, Apol. i. c. 66. *Tatian*, that he was εργον πρωτογονου τε πατρους, *The first-born Work of the Father.* *Tertullian*, that *Sophia* was secunda persona condita, *formed the second Person.* And indeed most of the Primitive Fathers expounded the before-mentioned Passage of the Proverbs of the eternal Generation of the Son, and thereby allowed him to be κλισος η δεμελιωτος, *created and founded.*

Another Thing in which *Alexander* and *Arius* seemed to differ, was about the voluntary Generation of the Son of God. *Alexander* doth not, I think, expressly deny this, but seems to intimate, that the Generation of the Son was necessary. Thus he says of the Son, εμφανωτω πατρι, μονωτω αγεννητω λεγομενον εκεινε; *He is like to the Father, and inferior only in this, that he is not unbegotten, or that the Father only is unbegotten*; the Consequence of which seems to be, that he apprehended his Generation as necessary as the Essence of the Father. *Arius* on the contrary, and his Friends, affirmed, that

that he was begotten by the Will of the Father ; a Doctrine not new nor strange in the Primitive Church.

Justin Martyr speaking of the λογος says, δυναμις Dialog. ταυτην γεγεννησθαι απο της πατρως δυναμει η βολη αυτης. p. 413. Ed. Thirl. This Virtue was begotten by the Father by his Power and Will. And again, explaining the Scripture Gen. xix. 24. The Lord rained down Fire from the Lord from Heaven, he says, there was one Lord on Earth, and another in Heaven, who was the Lord of that Lord who appeared on Earth ; ως πατρης η θεος, p. 413. αυτις τε αυτω της ειναι η δυνατω, η κυειω η θεω, as his Father and God, and the Author or Cause to him of being powerful, and Lord, and God, Cont. Tryph. Pars secund. And again, he expressly affirms him απο της πατρως θελησει γεγεννησθαι, to be begotten by the Will of his Father. In like manner Tatian, θεληματι δε της απλοτητος αυτης προηλθε λογος, that he did come forth by the pure Will of the Father. And Tertullian, Ut primum Deus voluit—ipsum primum protulit sermonem, Cont. Prax. He then first produced the Word, when it first pleased him. I do not take upon me to defend any of these Opinions, but only to represent them as I find them ; and I think the three Particulars I have mentioned were the most material Differences between the contending Parties.

I know the Enemies of Arius charged him with many other Principles ; but as 'tis the common Fate of religious Disputes to be managed with an intemperate Heat, 'tis no wonder his Opponents should either mistake or misrepresent him, and in their Warmth charge him with Consequences which either he did not see, or expressly denied. And as this appears to be the Case, no wonder the Controversy was never fairly managed, nor brought to a friendly and peaceable Issue. Many Methods were tried, but all in vain, to bring Alexander and Arius

Arius to a Reconciliation, the Emperor himself condescending to become a Mediator between them.

Euseb. Vit. The first Step he took to heal this Breach was
 Const. l. 1. right and prudent: He sent his Letters to *Alexan-*
 c. 63, &c. *dria*, exhorting *Alexander* and *Arius* to lay aside their
 Differences, and become reconciled to each other.
 He tells them, That *after he had diligently examined*

My Censurer Dr. B. thinks the Emperor's Prudence in the
Method of conducting his Interposition, is not without Exception.
 I will not except to the Stiffness of the Expression, of *conducting*
an Interposition. But why was not this Interposition prudent?
 Would the Doctor have had him immediately applied wholesome
 Severities, and put an End at once to the Dispute by the Sword?
 If not, what could be better than Exhortations to mutual For-
 bearance and Peace? But *he was but a young Christian, and*
little qualified to judge of the Consequence of such a Dispute.
 But 'tis plain he had Prudence enough to judge, that meta-
 physical Questions and Speculations ought never to have been
 brought into the Church, or made the Occasion of setting the
 whole Christian World in a Flame. The Controversy would
 soon have dropt of itself, had not the Bishops and Clergy kept
 it alive, and by mutual Quarrels and Persecutions put the World
 in an Uproar. *Alexander* and *Arius*, not content to dispute
 with one another privately, sent their Letters to the Bishops
 of other Provinces, to make Parties in each other's Favour, and
 by mutual Injuries made themselves irreconcilable to each other.
 Whereas had they followed *Constantine's* Advice, abated of their
 Pride and Stiffness, and kept from mutual Reflections and Vio-
 lences, the dismal Consequences that followed would have been
 prevented, and the Church of God been kept peaceable and
 united. The Consequence of the Dispute, had it been fairly
 managed, must have turned out to the Advantage of Truth, and
 the Opinions of the Orthodox been the more securely established;
 unless the Doctor will suppose that the *Arians* had the better of
 it, as to their Cause, the Patrons of it, and the Methods of ma-
 naging it. The Advice of *Constantine*, exhorting them to Peace,
 could not possibly be imprudent, nor the following it preju-
 dicial to the Cause of Orthodoxy, upon any other Sup-
 position.

the Rise ^f and Foundation of this Affair, he found the Occasion of the Difference to be very trifling^g, and not worthy such furious Contentions; and that therefore he promised himself that his Mediation between them for Peace, would have the desired Effect. He tells Alexander, That he required from his Presbyter a De-

^f In my first Edition I had said the *Rise and Progress*, which I have altered to *the Rise and Foundation*, that being the proper Meaning of the Word *υποθεσις*, here used by the Historian; tho' 'tis certain that *Constantine* had considered the Progress of the Controversy too. As to the Word *διαλογιζομενω*, Dr. B. says it should not be rendred *diligently examined*, as I have done, but *considering and reasoning*. Now unless the Doctor diligently examines without considering, or considers a Controversy without diligently examining it, I must insist on it, that my Translation is as good as his, because it means just the same Thing. But I think the Doctor gives this up, having omitted taking any Notice of it in his Bundle of Heads, in his Postscript Preface to his Sermons at Boyle's Lectures.

^g The Dispute evidently was not about the Unity of God, or the Generation of the Son of God before all Ages and Times. This was agreed on between both the Champions; but whether what was generated or begotten could be strictly coeval with the Begetter; whether a Being produced, and who owed his Existence and Deity to another, even to the Father as the *Fons & Origo*, could be properly said to be *αυτοχρητος*, *without Beginning*; how the Son, who was allowed not to be part of the Father's Essence by Division or Fluxion, could yet be from the Father, so as to be consubstantial with him; how the same individual numerical Essence could be both unbegotten and begotten, and how the Wisdom or Reason of the Father, consider'd as an Attribute of his Nature, could become a proper and distinct Person or Subsistence from the Father: Now, tho' I am not against controverting these and other metaphysical Points in a sober candid Manner, yet to bring these Points into the Church as essential Matters, and to enter into Excommunications and Depositions upon account of them, is a Practice which neither Religion or Prudence can vindicate. And as these Points on either side can never be explained, so as to be free from Difficulty, I must be of *Constantine's* Mind, that the original Occasion of the Difference was trifling, and not worthy such furious Contentions.

claration

claration of their Sentiments concerning a silly, empty Question. And Arius, That he had imprudently uttered what he should not have even thought of, or what at least he ought to have kept secret in his own Breast; and that therefore Questions about such Things should not have been asked; or if they had, should not have been answered; that they proceeded from an idle Itch of Disputation, and were in themselves of so high and difficult a Nature, as that they could not be exactly comprehended, or suitably explained; and that to insist on such Points too much before the People, could produce no other Effect, than to make some of them talk Blasphemy, and others turn Schismatics; and that therefore as they did not contend about any essential Doctrine of the Gospel, nor introduce any new Heresy concerning the Worship of God, they should again communicate with each other; and finally, that notwithstanding their Sentiments in these unnecessary and trifling Matters were different from each other, they should acknowledge one another as Brethren, and, laying aside their Hatreds, return to a firmer Friendship and Affection than before.

But religious Hatreds are not so easily removed, and the Ecclesiastical Combatants were too warmly engaged to follow this kind and wholesome Advice. The Bishops of each side had already interested the People in their Quarrel, and heated them into such a Rage that they attacked and fought with, wounded and destroyed each other, and acted with such Madness as to commit the greatest Impieties for the sake of Orthodoxy; and arrived to that pitch of Insolence, as to offer great Indignities to the imperial Images. The old Controversy about the Time of celebrating *Easter* being now revived, added Fuel to the Flames, and render'd their Animosities too furious to be appeased.

S E C T.

Euseb.
Vit. Const.
l. 3. c. 4, 5.

S E C T. III.

The Nicene Council.

Constantine being greatly disturbed upon this Account, sent Letters to the Bishops of the several Provinces of the Empire to assemble together at Nice in Bythinia, and accordingly great Numbers of them came, A. C. 325. some through hopes of Profit, and others out of Curiosity to see such a Miracle of an Emperor, and many of them upon much worse Accounts. The Number of them was three Hundred and Eighteen, besides vast Numbers of Presbyters, Deacons, Acolythists, and others. The Ecclesiastical Historians tell us, that in this vast Collection of Bishops some were remarkable for their Gravity, Patience under Sufferings, Modesty, Integrity, Eloquence, courteous Behaviour, and the like Virtues; that some were venerable for their Age, and others excelled in their youthful Vigour, both of Body and Mind. They are called an Army of God, mustered against the Devil; a great Crown or Garland of Priests, composed and adorned with the fairest Flowers; Confessors, a Crowd of Martyrs, a divine and memorable Assembly; a divine Choir, &c. But yet they all agree that there were others of very different Characters. Eusebius tells us, that after the Emperor had ended his Speech, exhorting them to Peace, some of them began to accuse their Neighbours, others to vindicate themselves, and recriminate; that many Things of this Nature were urged on both sides, and many Quarrels or Debates arose in the Beginning; and that some came to the Council with worldly Views of Gain.

Theodorit

*The first
general
Council,
A. C. 325.
Id. Ibid.
c. 6.
Soc. E. H.
l. 1. c. 17.*

Theod. E. H. l. 1. c. 7, 11. *Theodorit^h says, that those of the Arian Party were subtle and crafty, and like Shelves under Water concealed their Wickedness; that amongst the Orthodox some of them were of a quarrelling, malicious Temper, and accused several of the Bishops, and that they presented their accusatory Libels to the Emperor. Socrates says that very many of them, πλειονες, the major Part of them, accused one another; and that many of them the Day before the Emperor came to the Council, had delivered in to him Libels of Accusations, or Petitions against their Enemies. Sozomen goes farther, and tells us, That as it usually comes to pass, many of the*

Rem.p.25. *^h Dr. B. affirms, that the ill Character given by Theodorit of some, relates only to those who opposed the Proceedings of the Council, and patronized the Cause of Arius. But this is not true; for tho' the Quotation from Theodorit, c. 7. relates to those Persons, yet that from Cap. 11. evidently relates to others, not one single Intimation being dropped that he intended the Arians. The Orthodox themselves were φιλαπεχθιμονες ανδρες, Men that loved Quarrels and Enmities; a worse Character than what he*

Rem.p.31. *ascribes to the Arians, when he calls them υπελοι, cunning Men for concealing their Sentiments. The Doctor is forced to allow, tho' exceedingly against the Grain, that the Bishops had an hand in these Quarrels. But adds, What was done only by a Part, perhaps a very small Part in comparison, can't be an Objection to the Council in gross. This would have been a good Observation, if it had happened to be true. But the Historians are against him. They were πολλοι, πλειονες, many, very many, or the greater Part of them. He adds, their Accusations might not be all of one Tenor. I believe not: But what is this to the Purpose? The Orthodox Historians have concealed them, and left their Readers to guess for themselves; and what if others should not guess quite so favourable as Dr. B. they have as much Reason of their side as he possibly can have. But did they not lay aside their Misunderstandings afterwards? I can't tell. They did indeed agree in a Creed after a great deal of Persuasion, and the Interposition of the imperial Advice and Authority. But whether they forgave and forgot, the Historians have left undetermined. Some of them immediately fell into quarrelling again, as soon as the Council was over.*

Priests came together, that they might contend earnestly about their own Affairs, thinking they had now a fit Opportunity to redress their Grievances; and, that every one presented a Libel to the Emperor, of the Matters of which he accused others, enumerating his particular Grievances. And that this happen'd almost every Day. Gelasius Cyzicenus's Account of them is, That when all the Bishops were gathered together, according to custom, there happen'd many Debates and Contentions amongst the Bishops, each one having Matters of Accusation against the other. Upon this they gave in Libels of Accusation to the Emperor, who received them; and when he saw the Quarrels of such Bishops with one another, he said, &c. and endeavour'd to concealⁱ the wicked Attempts of such Bishops from the

ⁱ I cannot help taking Notice here of the xxth Article of Dr. B——'s Postscript Preface, where he observes, That the φιλα-
 πωχθιμοὺς ἀνδρες mentioned by Theodorit, were according to
 Gelasius, φιλολοιδῶναι λαῖκοι, meer Laymen. If the Doctor
 meant to convey to his Reader by this Account, that Gelasius
 contradicts Theodorit, or that Gelasius is more favourable to this
 Assembly than the other, 'tis a gross Imposition upon, and Abuse
 of his Reader. The φιλαπωχθιμοὺς ἀνδρες in Theodorit evi-
 dently relate to the Clergy and Bishops; and though Gelasius
 tells us, that there were some φιλολοιδῶναι λαῖκοι, reviling Lay-
 men, yet he is far from attempting to vindicate the Bishops from
 the Charge of mutual Rancor and Malice, but gives the same
 Account of the Quarrels between them as the other Historians
 do, fixing the Crime directly upon the ἐπισκοποὶ, or Bishops.
 And when he introduces the Laymen, 'tis not upon an Account
 very favourable to the Bishops; for he tells us, That not only Ibid;
 the Bishops accused one another, but, that some malicious Men,
 and contentious Laymen, accused some of the Bishops, and presented
 their Accusations in writing to the Emperor, who caused them to
 be burnt, without seeing them, for this Reason, That 'twas not
 fit the People should know the Crimes of the Priests, lest they should
 from thence take occasion to Sin without fear. So that here were
 Bishops accusing Bishops, and Laymen accusing Bishops, and the
 Emperor was afraid of letting the Crimes they were accused of
 come to publick Light, lest the Example of these holy Fathers
 should

the Knowledge of those without Doors. So that, notwithstanding the Encomiums of this Council, the evil Spirit had plainly got amongst them; for after the Emperor had exhorted them to lay aside all their Differences, and to enter into Measures of Union and Peace, instead of applying themselves to the Work for which they were convened, they began shamefully to accuse each other, and raised great Disturbances in the Council by their mutual Charges and Reproaches. *Sabinus* also saith, they were generally a Set of very ignorant Men^k, and destitute of Knowledge and Learning. But as *Sa-*

Soz. E. H.
l. i. c. 9.

should be an Encouragement to the People to work out all Iniquity with greediness. In my Judgment, the good Doctor had better have let this Matter alone, and prevented me the Necessity of telling this scandalous Story of the Bishops at *Nice*.

Rem. p. 27.

^k My Remarker is very angry that I should quote this Character from *Sabinus*, and tells me, *it ought to be rejected*, because *Eusebius* hath born an honourable Testimony to the Assessors of this Council. But hath he ever born Testimony to the Knowledge and Learning of all of them? They might be a Garland of Priests without these Qualifications; or some of the Flowers of the Garland might have Learning, as *Socrates* affirms, and yet *Sabinus* his Character of the Council *in general* be true. It appears from *Sozomen*, that there were two Parties amongst them. Some were for no Innovations, but for believing what they had received, without any curious Enquiries into it; whilst others thought, that old Opinions ought not to be acquiesced in without Examination. The former don't seem to be overburden'd with good Sense, nor to be much disposed for Enquiry; for let ancient Opinions be ever so true, 'tis a mean Thing to take them upon Authority, and an Argument of great Weakness or criminal Indolence, especially in the Bishops of the Church of Christ, to believe them by wholesale. For my own part, I make no question, but that amongst three Hundred and eighteen there were some Men of Learning; and I as little doubt, but that amongst so great a Number there were many more of a different Character; and if the *ανδρες φιλαπνεχθημονες* and the *ιδιωται* could be fairly computed, I am afraid they would be the true *πλειονες*, or as it usually happens, far the greater part of the Assembly. There is nothing in the Historians, nor in Reason, to induce one to believe the contrary.

l. i. c. 17.

binus was an Heretick of the *Macedonian* Sect, probably his Testimony may be thought exceptionable; and even supposing his Charge to be true, yet *Socrates* brings them off by telling us¹, That

¹ My Remarker thinks I divert my self with scoffing at the Rem. p. 28; Opinion of the Council's Inspiration, and says, that if it be taken 29. in a qualified Sense it will not appear in so ridiculous a Light to a serious and impartial Enquirer, because they were Bishops, and remarkable for a great many good Qualities, which he reckons up. I confess, that Inspiration is a sacred Thing, and the Name of the Holy Ghost too awful to be sported with; nor have I ever scoffed at the Things themselves, but at the scandalous Application of them to passionate, revengeful, and imperious Men. There could but be two Cases in which this Inspiration can possibly be supposed to have been afforded them, either in their making their Creed, or condemning their Adversaries. But how in making their Creed? The very Words they made use of they don't appear to have had any determinate Sense to. Even the distinguishing Term *Consubstantial*, they could give no satisfactory Explication of; but after the Council was over, greatly differ'd as to the Meaning of it. For when some of the Bishops *Socras*. came more strictly to examine into the Sense of it, it caused, as l. i. c. 23. the Historian tells us, *A civil War amongst them, which was like a Battle fought in the Dark; for that they did not appear to understand why they reproached and accused each other.* And the Consequence of these Quarrels was a Synod, and the Deposition of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch*. What, did the Holy Ghost inspire Words without Meaning? Or, could the Bishops fight in the Dark about the *Consubstantiality*, if the Spirit had directed them to the Use of it? Or, were *Eusebius* and *Eusebius* and their Parties without Inspiration? Where then did the Inspiration fall? What, upon the *αὐτοὶ φιλαπώχθημονες* and *ἰδωλαί*? The Doctor's Presumption, that they were in an especial Manner under the Direction of the Divine Spirit, and guided in their Resolutions by the watchful Care of Providence, is, I presume, *Enthusiasm* and *Cant*. Could the Spirit be supposed to direct them to Sounds without Sense, or to guide them in their Resolutions, when they did not understand what they resolved, and resolved upon a Word which set the whole Christian Church into Confusion? Much less can their Anathema's, Excommunications, Depositions, and Banishments, be imputed to the Direction of the Divine Spirit. 'Tis Blasphemy and Impiety to assert it; and the Men who thus talk of Inspiration and the Holy Ghost, are the Men that expose them to Ridicule and Contempt.

they were enlighten'd by God, and the Grace of his Holy Spirit, and so could not possibly err from the Truth. But as some Men may possibly question the Truth of their Inspiration, so I think it appears but too plain, that an Assembly of Men, who met together with such different Views, were so greatly prejudiced and inflamed against each other, and are supposed, many of them, to be ignorant, till they received miraculous Illuminations from God, did not seem very likely to heal the Differences of the Church, or to examine with that Wisdom, Care and Impartiality, or to enter into those Measures of Condescension and Forbearance that were necessary to lay a solid Foundation for Peace and Unity.

However, the Emperor brought them at last to some Temper, so that they fell in good earnest to Creed-making, and drew up, and subscribed that, which, from the Place where they were assembled, was called the *Nicene*. By the Accounts of the Transactions in this Assembly, given by *Athanasius* himself, in his Letter to the *African* Bishops, it appears, that they were determined to insert into the Creed such Words as were most obnoxious to the Arians^m, and thus to force them to a publick Separation

Theod.
E. H.
l. i. c. 8.

Rem.p. 32. ^m Dr. B. says this Account is *wrong turn'd*; for that *it was not the Design of the Council to insert obnoxious Words, or make the Creed exceptionable; but to guard the antient Faith against the wicked Arts and Subterfuge of Hereticks, who had contrived to elude the plain Force and Import of Words, by concealed and sophistical Evasions, i. e. Arius and Eusebius, and their Party, were determined to submit to the Creed, if they could possibly find out any Meaning to the Words which were made use of in it, or put any tolerable Explication upon them; and when the Council saw this, they went on to change the Creed, and add to it such Words as would most strongly express their own Doctrine, and be absolutely incapable of being explained away, or subscribed to by their Opponents. This my Remarker calls, guarding the Faith*

paration from the Church. For when they resolved to condemn some Expressions which the Arians were charged with making use of, such as, *The Son was a Creature*; *there was a Time when he was not*, and the like; and to establish the Use of others in their room, such as, *The Son was the only begotten*
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Faith against the Subterfuge of Hereticks; and I call it, *Inserting obnoxious Words, to force them to a publick Separation from the Church*. I am far from vindicating the Arian Party in the evasive Interpretations they put on the Creeds, and think such kind of Subscriptions really scandalous. But, methinks, my Remarker should be a little Tender on this Head, and not wholly condemn such a Practice as this, lest he should be found a little too severe on some of his own Brethren. In his Majesty's Declaration to the Articles of Religion there is this Passage: *No Man hereafter shall either print or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full Meaning thereof: and shall not put his own Sense or Comment to be the Meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical Sense*. Now, not to mention the *Athanasian Creed*, doth the Doctor think, that all the Clergy do subscribe the Articles *bona fide in the literal and grammatical Sense*, without drawing the Article aside, or putting their own Sense or Comment to be the Meaning of it? Do they really believe, that *the Fault and Corruption of the Nature of every Man, doth in every Person born into the World, deserve God's Wrath and Damnation*; that *we have no Power to do good Works acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us*; that *Works done without the Inspiration of the Spirit, are not pleasant to God, yea, that they have the Nature of Sin*? Or rather, do not the Generality of those who subscribe them, if they put any Sense upon them at all, draw them a little aside, and put their own Comment upon them? And will the Doctor call this by the hard Names of *Shuffling, Chicane, Subterfuge, Doubling, and Prevarication*? Or can't he think of it without the greatest Indignation and Abhorrence? But perhaps I shall be told, that the Articles are capable of two literal Senses. Very good. And is this an Argument of the Prudence of the Compilers of them? Why then, surely the Fathers of Nice were not quite so prudent as the Compilers of the Articles of the Church of England, because they took such Care to guard the Faith, *i. e.* their own Opinions, against the wicked Arts and Subterfuge of Hereticks, as to exclude every double Sense, and

ten of God by Nature, the Word, the Power, the only Wisdom of the Father, and true God; the Arians immediately agreed to it: Upon this the Fathers made an Alteration, and explained the Words, *From God*, by the Son's *being of the Substance of God*. And when the Arians consented also to this, the Bishops

to render it almost impossible for an Arian honestly to subscribe their Creed. 'Tis evident that the Arians could, and did put a Sense upon several Expressions of the Creed as first drawn up; a Sense not indeed agreeable to the Sentiments of the Orthodox Bishops, but to their own private Opinions. When the Bishops saw this they added new Terms more obnoxious, *i. e.* harder to be subscribed by the Arians; and at last, because they could find no one more difficult, they inserted *ὁμοσίου τῷ πατρὶ*, *Consubstantial with the Father*. Now the adding such Words to guard the Faith, as should most effectually prevent the Subscriptions of the Arian Party to it, was, let the Doctor say what he will, a designed Insertion of such Words as were most obnoxious to them, and a real Attempt to force them to a publick Separation from the Church. *Guarding the Faith* is the old stale Pretence of Persecutors, by which they would cover their Wickedness, Pride and Ambition. The true Faith of God and Christ needs no such Methods to guard it. It is safe in its own native Excellency and Evidence; and all the Methods of Excommunications, attended by temporal Penalties, and the Terrors of this World, instead of guarding it, tend to destroy it, and to introduce Schisms and Factions into the Church, instead of promoting Uniformity of Opinion, or what is much better, *The Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*. An Observation, which there are ten Thousand Instances to prove the Truth of; and of which, the Council of Nice it self is a Demonstration.

Rev. p. 35. But my Censurer imagines, that if the Orthodox had formed the Creed as wide and extensive as I plead for, so as to have allowed the Arians to subscribe to it, *this Difference of Opinion would not have secured the Peace of the Church, but destroy'd it*. But I apprehend just the contrary, and think, I have substantial Reason to support my Opinion. For the Forming the Creed in the Manner they did, doth not appear to have changed the Sentiments of the Arian Party, nor to have added one single Convert to the orthodox Faith; nor did their Decree as a Council add one bit to the Truth and Evidence of what they decreed. For if that Doctrine was false their Decree did not make it true;

if
if

Bishops farther added, to render the Creed more exceptionable, that *he was Consubstantial, or of the same Substance with the Father.* And when the Arians objected, that this Expression was wholly unscriptural, the Orthodox urged, that though it was so, yet the Bishops that lived an Hundred and thirty Years before them, made use of it. At last, however, all the Council subscribed the Creed thus

if it was doubtful and undetermined by Scripture, the Fathers could not alter its Nature, by making that certain which the Scriptures left undetermin'd ; and if it was true, 'twas not one jot truer, nor the Evidence of it clearer, after the Decree than before ; and the Reason why Persons were bound to believe it, was not the Authority of the Council, but its agreeableness to Truth and Scripture. And of Consequence the Decree it self was no benefit to the Church of Christ, and had no Tendency to secure it ; because it neither ascertain'd the Truth of the Doctrine, nor prevented those Differences of Opinion which the Doctor thinks would have destroyed the Church. What then was the Effect of the Decree, and the Excommunications, and civil Penalties that attended it ? Why, in the first place, it introduced Hypocrisy into the Church ; several subscribing the Creed with concealed and sophistical Evasions. In the next Place, it raised incurable Jealousies and Hatred amongst the Bishops, and absolutely destroyed the Peace of the Church ; and besides this, it spread the very Opinions they would have suppressed wider and wider, by raising the oppressed Party Friends and Favourers, and exciting in them greater Zeal in propagating their Principles. And to say all at once, it introduced that Spirit of Wrangling and Debate about speculative Points, both in the Priests and People, as quite rooted out the Christian Spirit, and destroyed the Life and Power of Virtue and true Godliness. Now, except Hypocrisy, Envy, Malice, Hatred, Revenge, and every Thing contrary to real Piety and Goodness, tend, in the Doctor's Opinion, to the Preservation of the Church, this Creed was of no real Benefit to it ; but, on the other hand, the greatest Disservice to the Honour and Welfare of the Church of Christ that ever was done to it since its first Plantation in the World. Whereas, had it been formed with greater Latitude, and so settled as to have made all Men easy in their Sentiments, no bad Effect could have followed from it. The Peace of the Christian World would have been provided for, great Hypocrisy would

thus alter'd and amended, except ⁿ five Bishops, who were displeased with the Word *Consubstantial*, and made many Objections against it; and of these five, three, *viz.* *Eusebius*, *Theognis* and *Maris*, seem afterwards to have complied with the rest, excepting only, that they refused to subscribe to the Condemnation of *Arius*.

Theod. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, was also in doubt
l. 1. c. 12. for a considerable Time, whether he should set his

have been prevented, Orthodoxy would have had its own natural and intrinſick Advantage; Error would have been left to its own Weakneſs, and, probably, have died ſoon after its riſe; and as to any remaining Differences of Opinion, they would have been managed with Candor and Prudence, greatly to the Advantage of Truth in general, and to the Recommendation of the Chriſtian Profeſſion and Cauſe in particular. 'Tis, indeed, an eſſential Error in all who plead for the Suppreſſion of Opinions by civil Penalties, that Diverſity of Opinions deſtroy the Church of Chriſt. For 'tis not at all eſſential to the Being, or good Order, or Welfare of the Church, that all Men ſhould be of the ſame Judgment in ſpeculative Points. For *the Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteouſneſs and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt*; and Chriſtianity is in an infinitely more flouriſhing State, amidſt ten Thouſand Diverſities of Opinion, where ſo much of it is believed as to produce Piety, Goodneſs, Juſtice, and Charity, and the like excellent Fruits, than where Men are all of one Opinion, and yet defective in theſe excellent Virtues of the Chriſtian Life.

ⁿ *Socrates* expreſſy mentions five, *viz.* *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, who diſapproved of, and ſcoffed at the Word *Consubstantial*, and would not ſubſcribe it. *Theodorit* ſays, They all conſented but two. I ſuppoſe, *Eusebius*, *Theognis* and *Maris*, did at firſt reſuſe to ſubſcribe the Creed on account of this hard Word; but that afterwards they were terrified into it by the Emperor's Diſpleaſure; or elſe prevailed on by ſome ſuch ſoftning Explication of it as ſatiſfied the other *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*. The Accounts of the ſeveral Hiſtorians are far from being exact in this Affair. *Socrates* is contrary to *Theodorit* and *Sozomen*. *Sozomen*'s Account is contradicted by the Synodical Epiſtle; and *Theodorit* is contradicted by both *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. And though my Remarker ſends me to *Valeſius*, that learned Critick doth not ſet this Matter in a full Light.

Hand to it, and refused to do it, till the exceptionable Words had been fully debated amongst them, and he had obtained an Explication of them suitable to his own Sentiments. Thus when 'twas asserted by the Creed, that *the Son was of the Father's Substance*, the negative Explication agreed to by the Bishops was exactly the same Thing that was asserted by *Arius*, viz. that ° *He was not a Part of the Father's Substance*. ¶ Again, as the Words *begotten*,
not

° Οὐ μὲν μετὰ τῆς ἑστίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ γεννῶν.

¶ Dr. B. hath several Remarks on this Account from *Eusebius*. He is a little Genteel to me here, and doth not bid me to turn to my Lexicon, or charge me with false Quotations. What he endeavours to prove is, That the Orthodox and Arians accounted for the same Words, they both agreed to make use of, in a different manner. But what I would observe is, that as the Orthodox did not seem to have any distinct Ideas to some of the Words they put into the Creed; so when they were called on to explain them, they gave such a Sense to them as the moderate Arians could easily comply with; of which these Quotations from *Eusebius* are full proof. And though there might be some Difference in the Orthodox and Arians about explaining the Terms, so also was there amongst the Orthodox themselves, they being far from having been of one Mind, or affixing the same Sense to the very Words they subscribed. The Truth is, some of them were very hard Words, and which I have never seen an explicate positive Interpretation of to this Day, and of which the Council did exceeding prudently to give a negative Sense. The Doctor indeed thinks, *some zealous Catholicks would have represented the Matter in stronger Terms, and that this Explication given by Eusebius doth not contain the full Sense and Meaning of the Council*. I will not answer for the Zeal of some of the Doctor's Catholicks, nor pretend to say, how far it might have carried them. To me it appears, that *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* hath given a true Account of the Debates in the Council, and that he had puzzled the Holy inspired Fathers about the Meaning of their own Words; for he refused to subscribe the Creed with them, till after long Debates about the Sense of it; and till he had brought them to this Acknowledgment, that in what soever Sense the Son was Consubstantial to, or from the Essence of the Father, yet it did not imply that the Son was part of the Father's Essence, or that the Essence of the Father suffered any Division or Change, or Alteration whatsoever;

not made, were applied to the Son, they determined the Meaning to be, that *the Son was produced after a different Manner than the Creatures which he made*, and was therefore of a more excellent Nature than any of the Creatures, and that the Manner of his Generation could not be understood. This was the very Doctrine of *Arius*, and *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, who declar'd, that *as the Son was no part of God, so neither was he from any Thing created, and that the Manner of his Generation was not to be described*. And as to the Word *Consubstantial* to the Father, it was agreed by the Council to mean no more, than that *the Son had no Likeness with any created Beings, but was in all Things like to him that begot him, and that he was not from any other Hypostasis or Substance but the Father's*. Of this Sentiment also were *Arius*, and *Eusebius* his Friend, who maintained not only his Being of a more excellent Original than the Creatures, but that he was formed of an *immutable and ineffable Substance and Nature, and after the most perfect Likeness of the Nature and Power of him that formed him*. These were the Explications of these Terms agreed to by the Council, upon which *Eusebius of Cæsarea* subscribed them in the Creed; and though some few of the Arian Bishops refused to do it, yet it doth not appear to me, that it proceeded from their not agreeing in the Sense of these Explications, but because they ap-

ever; or that the individual, unbegotten Essence of the Father could ever become changed or generated. This was a full Account of what they did not mean; but how the Son was positively Consubstantial with the Father, I don't find they pretended to account for it. They seem rather to have been of *Constantine's* Mind, whom *Eusebius* represents as saying, *θεός ἐστι ἀπορρητοῖς λόγοις περιηκεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα νοεῖν*, the plain English of which is, That these Things were incapable of being understood or explain'd at all. And of this same Sentiment was Pope *Alexander*, who excommunicated *Arius*.

prehended

prehended that the Words were very improper, and implied a great deal more than was pretended to be meant by them; and especially, because an Anathema was added upon all who should presume not to believe in them and use them. *Eusebius of Casarea* gives a very extraordinary Reason for his subscribing this Anathema, viz. because it forbids the Use of unscriptural Words, the introducing which he assigns as the Occasion of all the Differences and Disturbances which had troubled the Church^a. But had he been

^a My Remarker says, That *Eusebius* doth not mean, That all use of unscriptural Words would occasion Differences, but that only those which were used by *Arius* had such an Effect. But if *Eusebius* meant this he was greatly mistaken; since some of the Expressions used by the Orthodox did occasion as great Differences as any made use of by the Arians. The Quarrel first began from the Use of *αγεννητογεννης*, and such like Terms, by Pope *Alexander*, and that Quarrel was continued, and rendered irreconcilable, by imposing the *ουρισμ*; or, as *Socrates* tells us, The Church was torn in Pieces by a civil War for the sake of *Athanasius*, and the Word *Consubstantial*. So that if the unscriptural Words of *Arius* ought to have been rejected, because of the Disturbances they occasioned, the unscriptural Words of the Orthodox ought to have been discarded for the same Reason; and if *Eusebius* had been consistent with himself he ought never to have subscribed the Creed. But the Doctor adds, That the unscriptural Words of *Arius* were of fresh Date, whereas those of the Orthodox were authorized by the Usage of antient Times. I, on the other hand, affirm, That some of *Arius's* Expressions were not new, but authorized by the Usage of ancient Times, particularly, that the Father was prior to the Son; that there was a Time when the Son was not, by which God became a Father; and, that he existed by the Free-will of the Father. See the Quotations from *Justin Martyr*, *Tatian*, *Tertullian*, and *Novatian*, p. 56, 57. But what signifies the Oldness or Newness of the Expressions? They are neither false nor true on this Account. They were equally unscriptural, and the Occasions of great Contentions in the Christian Church; and the Orthodox had no more Power to oblige the Arians to subscribe to their unscriptural Words, because they thought they expressed the Sense of Scripture, than the Arians, when uppermost, had to oblige the Orthodox

been consistent with himself, he ought never to have subscribed this Creed, for the very Reason he alledges why he did it ; because the Anathema forbids only the unscriptural Words of *Arius*, such as, *He was made out of nothing ; there was a Time when he was not*, and the like ; but allowed and made sacred the unscriptural Expressions of the Orthodox, viz. *Of the Father's Substance*, and *Consubstantial*, and cut off from Christian Communion those who would not agree to them, though they were highly exceptionable to the Arian Party, and afterwards proved the Occasions of many cruel Persecutions and Evils.

In this publick Manner did the Bishops assert a Dominion over the Faith and Consciences of others, and assume a Power, not only to dictate to them what they should believe, but even to anathematize, and expel from the Christian Church, all who refused to submit to their Decisions, and own their Authority. For after they had carried their

Soc. l. i.
c. 9. Creed, they proceeded to excommunicate *Arius* and his Followers, and banished *Arius* from *Alexandria*. They also condemned his Explication of his own Doctrine, and a certain Book, called *Thalia*, which he had written concerning it. After

thodox to subscribe to theirs for the same Reason. And I think, I know the Doctor well enough to be sure, that he won't subscribe to all Words, Interpretations, and Doctrines, which have been authorized by the Usage of antient Times. The Truth is, the Fathers are very venerable when they are for some Mens Purposes, but of no Authority when they are against them ; whereas, if they are Authorities in any Point of Doctrine, they are in all where their Authority can be produced ; and it would be a most blessed Undertaking, if the Doctor, or some of his Friends, would draw up a Scheme of Christian Doctrines and Morals from these Gentlemen, and recommend it to Deists and Infidels for their Conversion, as the true, ancient Standard, Orthodox, and venerable Christianity.

this

this they sent Letters to *Alexandria*, and to the Brethren in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, to acquaint them with their Decrees, and to inform them, that the Holy Synod had condemned the Opinions of *Arius*, and were so zealous in this Affair, that they had not patience so much as to hear his ungodly Doctrine and blasphemous Words, and that they had fully determined the Time for the Celebration of *Easter*. Finally, they exhort them to rejoice for the good Deeds they had done, and for that they had cut off all manner of Heresy, and to pray, that their right Transactions might be established by Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ. When these Things were over, *Constantine* splendidly treated the Bishops, filled their Pockets^r, and sent them honourably home; advising them at parting to maintain Peace amongst themselves, and that none of them should envy

Euseb. de
Vit. Const.
l. 3. c. 20.

My Remarker here cries out, *What could our Author mean by that sneering Expression of his filling their Pockets?* And then to move Compassion to the poor Church, in soft and melting Accents groans out, *Alas! Their State of Poverty and Distress! The Expences of such a Journey! The good Emperor! Provisions for their Conveyance and Sustenance! Entertainments and Feasts! And likewise, some honourary Presents according to their Dignity!* How doth his Bowels move at their Distress! How doth he rejoice at their Feasts and their Presents! I am not disposed to find fault with him on these Accounts; though in my poor Judgment the Emperor had done much better, had he never sent for them from their respective Sees, nor paid so dear for a Creed, that set the World in a Flame. Not to add, that if, alas! the Bishops were so poor as the Doctor represents, it might not be altogether so prudent to give them a Taste of the Luxuries of a Court, lest taking a Dislike to their ancient Simplicity of Living, they should grow into a worldly Spirit, and neglect the spiritual Welfare and Edification of their Flocks. It might also be proved, that the Bishops and Clergy before this Council, had found Methods enough to enrich themselves, and don't appear to have been in such very lamentable Circumstances of Distress and Poverty.

another who might excel the rest in Wisdom and Eloquence, and that such should not carry themselves haughtily towards their Inferiors, but condescend to, and bear with their Weakness. A plain Demonstration^f that he saw into their Tempers, and was no Stranger to the Pride and Haughtiness that influenced some, and the Envy and Hatred that actuated others. After he had thus dismissed them he sent several Letters, recommending and enjoining an universal Conformity to the Councils Decrees both in Ceremony and Doctrine, using, among

Soc. E. H. other Things, this Argument for it, *That what they*
 l. j. c. 9. *had decreed was the Will of God, and that the Agree-*
ment of so great a Number of such Bishops was by Inspi-
ration of the Holy Ghost.

'Tis natural here to observe, that the Anathema's and Depositions agreed on by this Council, and confirmed by the imperial Authority, were the Beginning of all those Persecutions that afterwards raged against each Party in their Turns. As the Civil Power had now taken part in the Controversies about Religion, by authorising the Dominion of the Bishops over the Consciences of others, enforcing their Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and commanding the universal Reception of that Faith they

Rem.p.41. ^f My Censurer calls this an *ill-natur'd Suspicion*, and says in his Review, p. 40. *There might be better Reasons than either he or I know of for this Advice.* But to quote himself, I answer, *De non apparentibus & de non existentibus eadem est ratio.* If one may judge of Things by their Appearances, there could be no Reason for his advising them to live at Peace, but his seeing them too inclinable to quarrel with each other. If there were no Proofs of their Pride, what room for an Exhortation to Humility and Meekness? If they had given no Tokens of an envious malicious Spirit, to what purpose did he caution them against it? If this had been the case, he should have sent them away with the highest Commendations. But he knew them too well. Their past Conduct was full Proof they needed the Advice, and their after Behaviour, that they little regarded it.

had decreed to be Orthodox ; it was easy to foresee that those who opposed them would employ the same Arts and Authority to establish their own Faith and Power, and to oppress their Enemies, the first favourable Opportunity that presented : And this the Event abundantly made good. And indeed, how should it be otherwise ? For Doctrines that are determined merely by dint of Numbers, and the Awes of worldly Power, carry no manner of Conviction in them, and are not likely therefore to be believed on these Accounts by those who have once opposed them. And as such Methods of deciding Controversies equally suit all Principles, the introducing them by any Party gives but too plausible a Pretence to every Party, when uppermost, to use them in their turn ; and though they may agree well enough with the Views of spiritual Ambition, yet they can be of no Service in the World to the Interest of true Religion, because they are directly contrary to the Nature and Spirit of it ; and because Arguments, which equally prove the Truth and Excellency of all Principles, cannot in the least prove the Truth of any.

If one may form a Judgment of the Persons who composed this Council, from the small Accounts we have left of them, they do not, I think, appear to have met so much with a Design impartially to debate on the Subjects in Controversy, as to establish their own Authority and Opinions, and oppress their Enemies^t. For besides what hath been

^t Doctor Waterland however assures us, That the Council was Impor-
made up of the wisest, worthiest, and every way excellent Prelates, tance of
which the Christian World could then furnish, and that they appear the Trinity
to have been as wise, and as judicious, and as pious Men as ever asserted, p.
the Church was adorned with, since the Time of the Apostles. 'Tis 329, 333.
natural

E. H. l. 1.
c. 7.

been already observed concerning their Temper and Qualifications, *Theodorit* informs us, that when those of the Arian Party proposed in writing to the Synod the Form of Faith they had drawn up, the Bishops of the orthodox Side no sooner read it, but they gravely tore it in pieces, and called it a spurious and false Confession; and after they had filled the Place with Noise and Confusion, universally accused them of betraying the Doctrine according to Godliness. Doth such a Method of Proceeding suit very well with the Character of a Synod inspired, as the good Emperor declared, by the Holy Ghost? Is Truth and Error to be decided by Noise and Tumult? Was this the Way to convince Gainsayers, and reconcile them to the Unity of the Faith? Or could it be imagined, that the dissatisfied Part of this venerable Assembly would acquiesce in the tyrannical Determination of such a Majority, and patiently submit to Excommunication, Deposition, and the Condemnation of their Opinions, almost unheard, and altogether unexamined? How just is the Censure passed by *Gregory Nazianzen* upon Councils in general? *If,*

natural for Men to commend their own Party, and to ascribe all the Wisdom and Piety to those of their own Side. But I make no doubt, but that if the Council of *Nice* had been on the Arian Side of the Question, the learned Doctor and his Friends would have found out many Things to their Prejudice, and to weaken their Credit and Authority, from those few Hints which remain in the Historians concerning them; Historians which, tho' Orthodox, could not wholly pass over in silence their Faults, which were too notorious to be concealed, and too scandalous, it seems, to be fully represented; and which by all impartial Men, who do not see Things in a Party Light, must be allowed to be of some Weight in the Balance, against the high extravagant Encomiums which are thrown in on the other side. I am sorry the Christian Church could furnish no better Prelates, and that these Successors of the Apostles had so much deviated from the truly excellent Spirit of their Predecessors.

says he, *I must speak the Truth, this is my Resolution,* Vol. I.
to avoid all Councils of the Bishops, for I have not Epist. lv.
seen any good End answered by any Synod whatsoever; Edit. Col.
for their love of Contention, and their lust of Power,
are too great even for Words to express. The Em- Euseb. de
 peror's Conduct to the Bishops met at Nice is Vit. Const.
 full Proof of the former; for when they were met l. 3. c. 13.
 in Council they immediately fell to wrangling and
 quarrelling, and were not to be appeased and
 brought to Temper, till *Constantine* interposed,
 artfully persuading some, shaming others into
 Silence, and heaping Commendations on those
 Fathers that spoke agreeable to his Sentiments.
 The Decisions they made concerning the Faith,
 and their Excommunications and Depositions of
 those who differed from them, demonstrate also
 their affectation of Power and Dominion. But as
 they had great Reason to believe, that their own
 Decrees would be wholly insignificant without the
 Interposition of the imperial Authority to enforce
 them, they soon obtained their Desires; and pre-
 vailed with the Emperor to confirm all they had
 determined, and to injoin all Christians to submit
 themselves to their Decisions.

His first Letters to this purpose were mild and Euseb. de
 gentle: But he was soon persuaded by his Clergy Vit. Const.
 into more violent Measures; for out of his great c. 65.
 Zeal to extinguish Heresy, he put forth publick
 Edicts against the Authors and Maintainers of it;
 and particularly against the *Novatians, Valentinians,*
Marcionists, and others, whom after reproaching
with being Enemies of Truth, destructive Counsellors,
and with holding Opinions suitable to their Crimes,
 he deprives of the Liberty of meeting together
 for Worship, either in publick or private Places,
 and gives all their Oratories to the Orthodox
 Church. And with respect to the *Arians,* he ba- Soz. l. 1.
 nished c. 21,

Soc. 1. 1. 1. nished *Arius* himself, ordered all his Followers, as absolute Enemies of Christ, to be called *Porphyrians*, from *Porphyrius* an Heathen, who wrote against Christianity; ordained that the Books written by them should be burnt, that there might be no Remains of their Doctrine left to Posterity; and most cruelly commanded, that if ever any one should dare to keep in his Possession any Book written by *Arius*, and should not immediately burn it, he should be no sooner convicted of the Crime but he should suffer Death. He afterwards put forth a fresh Edict against the Recusants, by which he took from them their Places of Worship, and prohibited not only their meeting in publick, but even in any private Houses whatsoever.

Thus the Orthodox first brought in the Punishment of Heresy with Death^u, and persuaded the Emperor to destroy those whom they could not easily

Remarks,
p. 18.

^u This single Passage hath given my Censurer great Uneasiness; and he hath tried several Ways to clear the Orthodox from this Charge. First he positively asserted, that the sanguinary Law against those who should conceal any of *Arius's* Books was mentioned only by *Sozomen*, and that *not in the Form of Words in which it was enacted*: But when I produced him in my Answer the very Law it self from *Socrates*, he had the grace publickly to own his Mistake, and renounce, what no one ever charged him with, Infallibility. Being driven out of this Hold, he then thinks it worth his while to inquire, whether the *Arians* were not before-hand with the Orthodox, to raise Persecution without the imperial Authority. But by his good Leave this Inquiry is nothing to the Purpose, and could he prove it, it would not invalidate my Account, that the Orthodox first brought in the Punishment of Heresy with Death; which is the sole Point he ought to have kept to. Nor can I think that the imperial Authority is any Vindication of Persecution, but on the contrary an Aggravation of the Evil; the establishing Iniquity by a Law being a much more grievous Thing, than any private unauthorized Crimes, because 'tis giving a Sanction to Wickedness, and perpetuating it amongst Mankind.

Review,
p. 24.

But

easily convert. The Scriptures were now no longer the Rule and Standard of the Christian Faith. Orthodoxy and Heresy were from henceforward to be determined by the Decisions of Councils and Fathers,

But how is it the Doctor would prove his Point, that the *Arians* were beforehand in raising Persecution? Why, because 'tis certain that *Alexander* complained greatly of *Arius* and his Adherents, as raising Tumults every Day, and Persecutions against him. What if he did? Did not *Arius* also complain of *Epist. Ari*
Alexander, *οτι μεγαλως ημας εκπορθει, κ' εκδιωκει, κ' παντα* apud
καλων κινει καθ' ημων, that he did grievously worry and per- Theod.
secute him, and use all Methods to destroy him, and drove him out p. 21.
of the City as an Atheist? Doth he not also intimate that *Alexander* had threatned him with Death? Did not *Alexander* begin the Quarrel by excommunicating and banishing *Arius*, and his Companions? And is it not reasonable to think that they would endeavour to do themselves right in Courts of Justice, and sue the Bishop before the civil Magistrate for such violent and tyrannical Proceedings? These unquestionably were the Suits which the proud Pope calls vexatious, and by which he tells us Christianity, *i. e.* himself, and his arbitrary Actions, were exposed. If the Proceedings of the Ecclesiasticks were illegal and wicked, the Appeal to the Lay-Tribunal was just and necessary; and they only answerable for the ill Consequences, who gave occasions to such Appeals. *Alexander* appears beyond all dispute to have begun the Persecutions in the *Arian* Controversy. When the Doctor adds, that Pope *Alex*
ander intimates that some of the Catholics did actually lose their Lives by means of the Arians, I must take upon me absolutely to deny it, there being no such Intimation in all his Letter; the Words, *υπερ ων κ' αποθνησκομεν*, upon account of which we die, or are ready to die, relating to *Alexander* himself, as will be obvious to every one who reads the whole Passage: *Ταυτα διδασκομεν, ταυτα κηρυττομεν, ταυτα της εκκλησιας*
τα αποστολικα δογματα, υπερ ων κ' αποθνησκομεν; These apostolical Doctrines of the Church we teach, and preach, for the sake of which we are also ready to die; little regarding those who would compel us to abjure them, even tho' they would force us by Torments. And 'tis my Comfort for once, that I can prove this Account to be true by so great an Authority as that of my Censurer. For tho' he falsely construes or interprets *αποθνησκομεν*, some of the Catholics did actually lose their Lives, yet he refers the last Part of the Sentence to *Alexander* only: He declares

Fathers, and Religion to be propagated no longer by the apostolick Methods of Persuasion, Forbearance, and the Virtues of an holy Life, but by imperial Edicts and Decrees; and heretical Gain-

He would not forsake the Catholick Doctrine, tho' they should distress him by Tortures. And indeed that *Alexander* speaks of himself only, is as evident as Words can make it: *Υπερ ων κ' αποδυσκομεν, των εξουνοδαι αυτα βιαζομενων ηττον περστικωτες, ει κ' δια βασανων αναγκασει.* As to *Athanasius* his Character of *Alexander*, and representing him as a Confessor, I confess 'tis of little weight with me. I have no doubt but that *Alexander* had Trouble enough; but as 'twas of his own raising, and the Effect of his own vexatious Spirit and Behaviour, he is no more a Confessor in my Esteem, than *Laud* is a Martyr. And as to *Constantine's* Letter against *Eusebius*, charging him with Murders and Seditions; it appears to have been penned by some furious Ecclesiasticks, who endeavoured to load him with Crimes, after they had perswaded the Emperor to banish him. But that the Emperor either believed nothing of these Things, or soon found out the Falshood of the Charge, seems very plain; because *Eusebius* was soon after restored to his Favour, and continued in it to the Emperor's Death. But even supposing *Eusebius* really guilty of these Crimes, it doth not appear that he committed them, till after he had been opposed, excommunicated, and unjustly dealt with himself; and till this be proved, my Censurer doth nothing in support of his main Point, viz. to shew that the *Arians* were really before the Orthodox in Persecution. This is what I take upon me to deny, till I see some better Proofs than what my Doctor hath produced.

Review,
p. 26.

'Tis with as little Probability and Truth what he farther intimates, viz. that *Constantine's* Severities were not meant properly to punish any Differences of Opinion, but rather insisted on a civil Account, viz. for the restraining of Incendiaries, and preserving the publick Peace. To shew how poor and wretched this Evasion is, I will here give the sanguinary Edict at large.

Constantine to the Bishops and People.

" Since *Arius* hath imitated wicked and ungodly Men, 'tis
 " just that he should undergo the same Infamy with them.
 " As therefore *Porphyrius*, an Enemy of Godliness, for his
 " having composed wicked Books against Christianity, hath
 " found

Gainfayers not to be convinced, that they might be brought to the Acknowledgment of the Truth and be saved, but to be persecuted and destroyed. 'Tis no wonder, that after this there should be a con-

“ found a suitable Recompence, so as to be infamous for the
 “ Time to come, and to be loaded with great Reproach, and
 “ to have all his impious Writings quite destroy’d; so also ’tis
 “ now my Pleasure, that *Arius*, and those of *Arius* his Sen-
 “ timents, shall be called *Porphyrians*, so that they may have
 “ the Appellation of those, whose Manners they have imitated.
 “ Moreover, if any Book composed by *Arius* shall be found,
 “ it shall be delivered to the Fire; that not only his evil
 “ Doctrine may be destroyed, but that there may not be the
 “ least Remembrance of it left. This also I injoin, that if any
 “ one shall be found to have concealed any Writing composed
 “ by *Arius*, and shall not immediately bring it and consume it
 “ in the Fire, Death shall be his Punishment; for as soon as
 “ ever he is taken in this Crime, he shall suffer a capital Punish-
 “ ment. God preserve you.” I submit it to every Reader,
 whether this bloody Edict doth not purely relate to Opinions,
 and was not published merely on a religious Account, as well
 as what to think of the Man, that endeavours thus to palliate
 and disguise the plainest Facts.

This, and other Laws of the like cruel Nature, were the
 Beginning of those Evils which afterwards spread such Defo-
 lation in the Church; and for this Reason I observed, that the
 Orthodox first brought in the Punishment of Heresy with Death.
 This my Remarker calls a *very extraordinary invidious Reflection, Remarks,*
because, as he says, it amounts to this, that the first Christian p. 18.
Emperor being on the Orthodox side, his Laws, and the Penalties
enforcing them, were on the same side also; and in his Review, Review,
I still insist, that the imperial Laws of this sort being first on the p. 24.
side of Orthodoxy, was a Thing as purely accidental, as it was
that the first Christian Emperor should be himself Orthodox. Let it
 be as accidental as he pleases. And what then? What would
 he infer from thence? What, that the Law was ever the
 better? Or that the Bishops, who prompted the Emperor to
 make it, were more wise and merciful? Or that it sanctified the
 Injustice or Cruelty of it? That it was the first Edict of this
 kind he can’t deny, any more than he can, that it was setting
 a bloody Example to all Parties in their turn, and to all future
 Ages. And as it was the first Example, ’twas an infamous and
 detestable one; and the Advisers and Authors of the Law,

continual Fluctuation of the publick Faith, just as the prevailing Parties had the imperial Authority to support them, or that we should meet with little else in Ecclesiastical History but Violence and Cruelties committed by Men who had left the Simplicity of the Christian Faith and Profession, enslaved themselves to Ambition and Avarice, and had before them the ensnaring Views of temporal Grandure, high Preferments, and large Revenues. * *Since the Time that Avarice hath increased in the Churches, says St. Jerom, the Law is perished from the Priest, and the Vision from the Prophet. Whilst all contend for the Episcopal Power, which they unlawfully seize on without the Church's leave, they apply to their own Uses all that belongs to the Levites. The miserable Priest begs in the Streets—They die with Hunger who are commanded to bury others. They ask for Mercy who are commanded to*

let them be who they will, ought to be thought of with Abhorrence, for introducing a Practice, not only contrary to all the Principles of reveal'd Religion, but to the first Dictates of Humanity it self; and it would much better become a Clergyman, who by his Office ought to abhor Measures of Blood, and to know that the God of Mercy is not to be served by Laws for the Destruction and Butchery of Mankind, frankly to own the Wickedness and Injustice of such Edicts, than to argue in defence of them, or to extenuate their Guilt. I allow as well as he that the *Arians* were equally criminal in this Respect; but I insist on it, that the *Orthodox* first set them the Example, and were therefore in some measure accessary to all the Outrages and Violence afterwards practis'd by them.

* Nunc autem ex quo in Ecclesiis crevit Avaritia, periit Lex de Sacerdote, & Visio de Propheta. Singuli quique pro Potentia Episcopalis nominis, quam sibi ipsi illicite absque Ecclesia vendicaverunt, totum quod Levitarum est in usus suos redigunt—Moriuntur Fame qui alios sepelire mandantur. Poscunt misericordiam, qui misereri aliis sunt precepti—Solus incubat Divitiis—Hinc propter Sacerdotum Avaritiam Odia consurgunt, hinc Episcopi accusantur a Clericis, hinc Principum Lites, hinc Desolationum Causæ, hinc Origo Criminis.

have

have Mercy on others——The Priests only Care is to get Money——Hence Hatreds arise through the Avarice of the Priests; hence the Bishops are accused by their Clergy; hence the Quarrels of the Prelates; hence the Causes of Desolations; hence the Rise of their Wickedness. Religion and Christianity seem indeed to be the least Thing that either the contending Parties had at heart, by the infamous Methods they took to establish themselves and ruin their Adversaries.

If one reads the Complaints of the Orthodox Writers against the *Arians*, one would think the *Arians* the most execrable Set of Men that ever lived, they being loaded with all the Crimes that can possibly be committed, and represented as bad, or even worse, than the Devil himself. But no wise Man will easily credit these Accounts, which the Orthodox give of their Enemies, because, as *Socrates* tells us, *This was the Practice of the Bishops* E. H. l. 1. 2. *towards all they deposed, to accuse and pronounce them* c. 24. *impious, but not to tell others the Reasons why they accused them as such.* 'Twas enough for their Purpose to expose them to the publick Odium, and make them appear impious to the Multitude, that so they might get them expelled from their rich Sees, and be translated to them in their room. And this they did as frequently as they could, to the introducing infinite Calamities and Confusions into the Christian Church. And if the Writings of the *Arians* had not been prudently destroyed, I doubt not but we should have found as many Charges laid by them, with equal Justice, against the Orthodox, as the Orthodox have produced against them; their very Suppression of the *Arian* Writings being a very strong Presumption against them, and the many imperial Edicts of *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, *Martian*, and others, against

Hereticks, being an abundant Demonstration that they had a deep Share in the Guilt of Persecution.

Theod.

l. i. c. 4, 5.

Alexander, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in his Letter to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, complains that *Arius* and others, desirous of Power and Riches, did Day and Night invent Calumnies, and were continually exciting Seditions and Persecutions against him; and *Arius* in his turn, in his Letter to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, with too much Justice charges Pope *Alexander* with violently persecuting and oppressing him upon account of what he called the Truth, and using every Method to ruin him, driving him out of the City as an atheistical Person, for not agreeing with him in his Sentiments about the Trinity. *Athanasius* also bitterly exclaims against the Cruelty of the *Arians*, in his Apology for his Flight. *Whom have they not*, says he, *used*

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with the greatest Indignity that they have been able to lay hold of? Who hath ever fallen into their Hands, that they have had any spite against, whom they have not so cruelly treated, as either to murder or to maim him? What Place is there where they have not left the Monuments of their Barbarity? What Church is there which doth not lament their Treachery against their Bishops? After this passionate Exclamation he mentions several Bishops they had banished or put to Death, and the Cruelties they made use of to force the Orthodox to renounce the Faith, and to subscribe to the Truth of the *Arian* Doctrines. But might it not have been asked, Who was it that first brought in Excommunications, Depositions, Banishments, and Death, as the Punishments of Heresy? Could not the *Arians* recriminate with Justice? Were they not reproached as Atheists, anathematized, expelled their Churches, exiled, and made liable to the Punishment of Death by

by the Orthodox? Did not even they who complained of the Cruelty of the *Arians* in the most moving Terms, create numberless Confusions and Slaughters by their violent Intrusions into the Sees of their Adversaries? Was not *Athanasius* himself also accused to the Emperor, by many Bishops and Clergymen, who declared themselves Orthodox, of being the Author of all the Seditions and Disturbances in the Church^y, by excluding great Multitudes

^y The whole Account, as given by *Sozomen*, is this: *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* accused *Athanasius* to *Constantine*, as the Author of Seditions and Disturbances in the Church, and as excluding many who were willing to enter into it; whereas all would agree, if this one Thing was granted. Many Bishops and Clergymen affirmed these Accusations against him were true; and going frequently to the Emperor, and affirming themselves to be Orthodox, accused *Athanasius* and the Bishops of his Party of being guilty of Murders, of putting some in Chains, of Whipping others, and Burning of Churches. Upon this *Athanasius* wrote to *Constantine*, and signified to him that his Accusers were illegally ordained, made Innovations upon the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and were guilty of Seditions and Injuries towards the Orthodox. Upon this *Constantine* was at a loss which to believe; but as they thus accused one another, and the Number of the Accusers on each side grew troublesome to him; out of his Love of Peace, he wrote to *Athanasius* that he should hinder no-body from the Communion of the Church; and that if he should have any future Complaints of this Nature against him, he would immediately drive him out of *Alexandria*. The Reader will observe, that the Charge against *Athanasius* Soz. 1. 2.
c. 22. brought by *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, was confirmed by many Orthodox Bishops, in the very Presence of the Emperor; and that *Athanasius*, instead of denying it, objects to the Ordination and Orthodoxy of his Accusers, and charges them with a bad Treatment of the Orthodox; and that the Evidence on both sides appeared so strong, that the Emperor knew not which to believe; but that however he was at last so far convinced of the factious, turbulent Spirit of *Athanasius*, that he ordered him to open the Doors of the Church, under pain of Banishment.

Besides this, there were other Crimes imputed afterwards to *Athanasius*; such as his imposing a Tribute of Linen, and sending a Cabinet of Gold to *Philamenus* to support him in Sedition.

My

Philostorg.
Compen.
E. H. l. 8.
c. 11.

titudes from the publick Services of it; of murdering some, putting others in Chains, punishing others with Stripes and Whippings, and of burning Churches? And if the Enemies of *Athanasius* endeavoured to ruin him by suborned Witnesses and false Accusations, *Athanasius* himself used the same Practices to destroy his Adversaries; and particularly *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by spiriting up a Woman to charge *Eusebius* with getting her with Child*, the Falshood of which was detected at the Council

Review,
p. 44.

My Reviewer is very angry, because I did not mention these also; but the Reason was because the Historian tells us he cleared himself from them. But was not *his Acquittal from these Crimes a consequential Disproof of the rest*? No: For may not a Man be guilty of Violences and Murders, without being guilty of Treason too? These Accusations were laid at different Times, and made by different Persons. Many Bishops affirmed *Athanasius* was guilty of Murder, Sacrilege, &c. whereas there do not appear to have been many Persons produced as Witnesses to the Treason. And as the Emperor dismissed him with a Testimonial of his Innocence in this Respect, the Doctor should, I think, have commended my Impartiality in not mentioning these Things, instead of finding Fault with me for my omitting them.

Soc. p. 63.

Remarks,
p. 46, 47.

* My Remarker is out of all Patience with me for mentioning this Affair, and plentifully discharges his Ecclesiastical Artillery against me and my Voucher. *Impudence, Partiality, Forgery, Bigotry, Lyes, Fiction and Subornation*, are the sacred Weapons of his Warfare, and the pious Testimonials of his ardent Zeal. And because I did not think fit to surrender at such an Attack, he assaults me in his Review with greater Fury, and tells me I am *inflexibly perverse, incapable of Conviction, and abandoned to believe a Lye*. How dreadful a Thing 'tis to differ from the learned Dr. *Berryman*? But who can help his Fate? 'Tis my Unhappiness to be inflexible still; for the Truth of the Fact is this: *Ruffinus* tells a Story how *Athanasius* was accused of a Rape at *Tyre*, and that it was proved to be a Forgery; and after him, and probably from him, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret* tell the same, i. e. there is one Historian tells the Story in favour of *Athanasius*. On the other hand *Philostorgius*, who lived but a few Years after *Ruffinus*, tells the same Story of a Rape and a Forgery;

Review,
p. 45.

Council of Tyre. His very Ordination also to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, was censured as clandestine and illegal *. These Things being reported to

Forgery; but says that *Athanasius* was the Forger, and convicted of being so at the Council of Tyre. That there is no Certainty in the Account as told in favour of *Athanasius*, is plain, because *Sozomen* says he found nothing of it in the Acts of the Synod of Tyre; and because neither *Athanasius*, in his Account of the Proceedings of that Synod, nor the Council of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, and *Sardica*, in their Synodical Epistles, written with design to purge *Athanasius* from the Crimes objected at Tyre, have made any, the least Mention of it; and my Doctor doth not take upon him to defend the Matter against such Suspicions. So that the Account of *Ruffinus*, that *Athanasius* was accused by Subornation, and acquitted at Tyre, the Doctor will not defend; so great are the Suspicions against the Truth of it. But then he adds, *to be sure Philostorgius's Account hath no ground, because 'tis the reverse of Ruffinus's, and wholly unattested by all other Evidence.* But as the Account of *Ruffinus* is very suspicious, why may not the Account of *Philostorgius* be true? Why, because 'tis unattested. And how so? Because the Orthodox took care to destroy all the Evidence by burning the Writings of the *Arians*; and this gives great ground of Suspicion, that the Writings of the *Arians* contained many Evidences and Facts, which the Orthodox had no way of disproving, but by quite destroying those Writings. Impartial Men will not think very favourably of the Orthodox Party, after so notorious an Instance of Injustice and Partiality; and *Philostorgius's* Evidence will still be at least as good as that of *Ruffinus* and his Copiers.

^a *His Ordination censured!* says my Remarker: *But by whom?* Remarks, By Mr. Chandler perhaps, and such as he. As if Mr. Chandler, p. 48. and such as he, were not capable of judging about the Regularity of an Ordination; or as if Dr. Berryman, and such as he, were the only Persons in the whole World whose Censures were to be regarded. If Mr. Chandler had affirmed this without citing his Authority, Dr. B. and such as he, would have had reason for Complaint; but as the Case now stands, Dr. Berryman's Contempt is as unnatural, as his making *Laud*, that tyrant Priest, a Martyr; a Martyr fit for a Popish Calendar, but a Reproach and Scandal to a Protestant one. The Evidence against *Athanasius*, as to his Ordination, is far from being contemptible: For at the Council of Tyre he was accused by several of diverse Crimes;

Rem.p.47

Soz.p.48a

Soz. 1. 2. to Constantine, he ordered a Synod to meet at
c. 25, 28. Casarea in Palestine, of which Place Eusebius Pam-

Crimes; but all in common accused him of coming to his Bishoprick by the Perjury of his Ordainers, and for this Reason they refused to communicate with him; and instead of his giving them any Satisfaction in this Point, he used Violence towards them, and threw them into Jail. Some of these Accusers were Bishops, and one would think for this Reason should deserve some Credit. But the Doctor adds, *The Council we see dropped the Charge.* But I beg leave to know where we can see this? Can the Doctor produce the Acts of the Council of Tyre? If not, *he hath the Credit, which I am sure I shan't envy him,* of affirming, *without Blushing* and without Proof, that the Council dismissed this Charge. But doth not Gregory Nazianzen affirm that he was chosen by the Suffrage of all the People? He doth. But what is this to disprove the Evidence of many Bishops his Accusers, who publickly declared that his Ordainers were perjured, in the Face of the Council; who in Prudence could not have made such a Declaration, if Athanasius's Ordination had been known to be as regular, as is pretended. Many of the Bishops of Tyre must have been able to have falsified the Charge immediately, had it been notoriously known to have been wholly without Foundation, or had the Regularity of his Ordination into that Patriarchal See been beyond all reasonable Question. As to the Alexandrian Synod, their Account might be so far true, that he was chosen by the Suffrage of the People, and ordained at their Request; and yet his Ordination might be illegal, and by the Perjury of his Ordainers: For, as Sozomen tells us, the Bishops had promised upon Oath that no-body should be ordained, before he had cleared himself of the Crimes objected to him. If then any of the Bishops, who ordained him, had taken this Oath, and yet ordained him before he had cleared himself of the Crimes he was charged with, it was really Perjury in them, and his Ordination was so far illegal. If the Alexandrian Council's Letter deserves any Credit, that Ordination was conducted with great Violence and Tumult: Athanas. For, as they themselves relate it, all the People met together, Vol. I. and with great Clamour demanded Athanasius for their Bishop; p. 726. and swore that we should make him so several Days and Nights, Edit. Paris. and would not depart from the Church themselves, nor suffer us to go away. So that whether they had taken the Oath or no, they were forced to ordain him by Oaths and Noise, and Clamour; so far was his Ordination, as the Doctor asserts, from being without Tumult,

philus

philus was Bishop, before whom *Athanasius* refused to appear. But after the Council was removed to Tyre he was obliged by force to come thither, and commanded to answer to the several Crimes objected against him. Some of them he cleared himself of, and as to others he desired more Time for his Vindication^b. At length, after many Sessions, both

^b My Remarker says, *What Mixture of Fiction and Partiality is here! I am at a loss to find any thing like this in the Historians, but I think I see plain Footsteps of the contrary.* In answer to this Charge of Fiction, I produced him the original Passage from *Sozomen*; upon which he tells me, in his Review, that *he Review, is inclined to think that Sozomen might mistake that for a Delay* p. 47. of *Athanasius, which another Historian imputed to the Council.* But what signifies Inclination against Fact? A partial Writer always writes with an Inclination to his favourite Side of the Question, and can never be expected to write Truth. *Athanasius* certainly required Time for his Vindication in some of the Articles objected to him; Time, I did not say intended for Delay of Justice, but to put in his Answer and vindicate himself. And whereas the Doctor talks of *Heaps of Crimes in the general, mentioned in the way of Clamour and Defamation, without the Appearance of any Proof that was offered*; he should remember, that this is the general Account of an Orthodox Historian, who took care to mention Things only in the general, without entering into many Particulars of his Accusation, or the Proofs by which they were supported. If we had the Acts of the Council, Things might probably have a quite different Appearance; for in their Letters to the Bishops they tell them, that he was convicted of the Crimes they had examined him about, and condemned by his Flight on other Accusations to which he had not pleaded: Unquestionably these Things were recorded in the Council Acts; and before I can judge *Athanasius* quite clear, I must insist on it that my good Doctor produce them.

The Doctor says farther, *That where they pretended to give* Remarks, Proof, *the Matter ended in the Shame and Confusion of his Ac-* p. 50. *cusers*; and for this he instances in the Case of the Subornation of the Woman to prove him guilty of Whoredom, which yet the Doctor doth not seem to believe the Truth of himself; and in the Affair of *Arsenius*, whom *Athanasius* was charged with murdering. 'Tis true, *Athanasius* disproved it by producing *Arsenius* alive. But how did his Accusers come of? Why, *Theodorit*

both his Accusers, and the Multitude who were present in the Council, demanded his Deposition as an Impostor, a violent Man, and unworthy the Priesthood. Upon this *Athanasius* fled from the Synod; after which they condemned him, and deprived him of his Bishoprick, and ordered he should never more enter *Alexandria*, to prevent his exciting Tumults and Seditions. They also wrote to all the Bishops to have no Communion with him, as one convicted of many Crimes, and as having convicted himself by his flight of many others, to which he had not answered. And for this their Procedure they assigned these Reasons: That he despised the Emperor's Orders, by not coming to *Cæsarea*; that he came with a great Number of Persons to *Tyre*, and excited Tumults and Disturbances in the Council, sometimes refusing to answer to the Crimes objected against him, at other Times reviling all the Bishops; sometimes not obeying their Summons, and at others refusing to submit to their Judgment; that he was fully and evidently convicted of breaking in pieces the sacred Cup, by six Bishops who had been sent into *Egypt* to inquire out the Truth. *Athanasius*, however,

Theodorit says they called *Athanasius* a Sorcerer, and accused him of deluding the Eyes of the People by magick Arts. But where did *Theodorit* pick up this Story, and where are his Vouchers? *Sozamen*, who had seen the Acts of the Council, gives this different Account of it; that his Accusers vindicated themselves, by saying that *Plustanus*, one of *Athanasius*'s Bishops, burnt *Arsenius*'s House by *Athanasius*'s Command, tied him to a Pillar, whipped him with Thongs, and thrust him into a Dungeon. That *Arsenius* escaped thro' a Window, and that because after a long Search they could not find him, they reasonably thought he was dead. Upon this *Athanasius* was struck with Terror, and imagined his Enemies would privately murder him, and so fled from *Tyre* to *Constantinople*. So that even this Story doth not turn out exceedingly to *Athanasius*'s Honour.

E. H.
p. 481.

appealed

appealed to *Constantine* ^c, and prayed him, that he ^{Soz. E. H.} might have the Liberty of making his Complaints ^{p. 488,} in the Presence of his Judges. Accordingly *Euse-* ^{491, 492.} *bins* of *Nicomedia*, and other Bishops, came to *Con-*
stantinople,

^c I had said in my former Edition, that tho' *Athanasius* gave such a Representation of the Councils Transactions to *Constantine*, as greatly offended him, yet when *Eusebius* and others laid the whole Matter before him, he alter'd his Sentiments, and banished *Athanasius* into France. Upon which my Remarker cries out, Did *Eusebius* then lay the whole Matter before ^{Rem. p. 56.} the Emperor? What Truth or Honesty can we expect from the Man that shall affirm it? But in his Review he retracts a little, and says he hopes I will be better pleased that he softens the Charge, and imputes my Mistake not to want of Truth and Honesty, but to Temerity and want of Judgment; i. e. he will excuse me from being a Rogue, if I will be humbly contented to let him call me a Fool. The first is a Specimen of his Honour, and the second of his Civility and good Manners. However, I freely give the Gentleman his Choice, and am in no pain which of the two he shall think fit to bestow on me; but will a little examine what he offers to soften or invalidate this Account. The first is, that *Sozomen* is a later Historian than *Socrates* and *Theodorit*. But this is not true; they were all Contemporaries, ^{Bib. Eccl.} and wrote their Histories much about the same Time. Probably *Theodorit* might be somewhat the older Man, tho' even that doth not appear with any great Certainty. Well, but *Socrates* and *Theodorit* affirm, that the Bishops when they appeared before the Emperor dropped all that had been said of the broken Cup, and had recourse to another Accusation, which was the Cause of *Athanasius*'s Banishment. But I think this Account doth not by any means seem probable: For as *Sozomen* affirms the con- ^{Soc. E. H.} trary, so *Socrates* tells us, that *Theognis* and *Maris*, ^{l. 1. c. 35.} *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who were sent into *Egypt* to inquire into this Affair, were actually at *Constantinople* with *Eusebius*. And as the Council of *Tyre*, in their circular Letters to the Bishops, to give an Account of their Proceedings, affirm that *Athanasius* was fully convicted in this Case, 'tis not likely that those Bishops, who were the proper Witnesses, should omit this Part of the Accusation, when they were giving an Account of the Council's Conduct towards *Athanasius*; especially if, as *Theodorit* intimates, ^{Theod. l. 1. c. 30.} they had mentioned this amongst other Charges, in their Letter to the Emperor from *Egypt*. But it seems two of these Bishops were Knaves. What then? Why it may well be presumed, that

Constantinople, where *Athanasius* was; and in an Hearing before the Emperor, they affirmed that the Council of *Tyre* had done justly in the Cause of *Athanasius*, produced their Witnesses as to the breaking of the sacred Cup, and laid many other Crimes to his Charge. And tho' *Athanasius* seems to have had the Liberty he desired of confronting his Accusers, yet he could not make his Innocence appear: For notwithstanding he had endeavoured to prejudice the Emperor against what they had done, yet he confirmed their Transactions, commended them as a Set of wise and good Bishops, censured *Athanasius* as a seditious, insolent, injurious Person, and banished him to *Treves* in *France*. And when the People of *Alexandria*, of *Athanasius's* Party, tumultuously cried out for his Return, *Antony the Great*, a Monk, wrote often to the Emperor in his Favour. The Emperor in return

Review, P. 53. that the rest were either Partners in their Guilt, or imposed on by their Fraud. As above, they were Knaves or Fools; and all of them so, because two of them were errant Knaves. There is no answering such an Argument. But 'tis certain the *Alexandrian* Council, and the younger *Constantine*, excuse the Sentence of the Emperor against *Athanasius*, as intended for his better Security: This I do not deny. But in opposition to this, *Constantine* the Elder, who should know his own Mind better than his Son, abundantly intimates, that he banished him as a seditious, troublesome Fellow, and would not recall him for that very Reason; without mentioning one Word about *Athanasius's* Safety. And 'tis very probable that *Athanasius*, who lived in the younger *Constantine's* Jurisdiction, helped that young Prince to that Evasion, the better to salve his own Honour. Indeed the Doctor himself seems to allow that *Constantine* the Elder had no very good Opinion of him; for he says, that the Historian intimates that *Constantine* looked on him as a troublesome Man in general, and since the Council had condemned him, would not be prevailed with at that Time to consent to his Restoration. So that the Sentence of the Council had, by Dr. Berryman's Confession, at least its Weight to keep the Saint in Banishment, as a Disturber of the publick Peace.

wrote

wrote to the *Alexandrians*, and charged them with Madnefs and Sedition, and commanded the Clergy and Nuns to be quiet; affirming he could not alter his Opinion, nor recall *Athanasius*, being condemned by an ecclesiastical Judgment as an Exciter of Sedition. He also wrote to the Monk, telling him it was impossible he should disregard the Sentence of the Council, because that tho' a few might pass Judgment thro' Hatred or Affection, yet it was not probable, that such a large Number of famous and good Bishops should be of such a Sentiment and Disposition; for that *Athanasius* was an injurious and insolent Man, and the Cause of Discord and Sedition.

Indeed *Athanasius*, notwithstanding his sad Complaints under Persecution, and his expressly calling it a diabolical Invention, yet seems to be against it only when he and his own Party were persecuted, but not against persecuting the Enemies of Orthodoxy. In his Letter to *Epietetus*, Bishop of Corinth, he saith, *I wonder that your Piety hath suffered these Things*, (*viz.* the Heresies he had before-mentioned) *and that you did not immediately put those Hereticks under Restraint, and propose the true Faith to them; that if they would not forbear to contradict they might be declared Hereticks; for 'tis not to be endured that these Things should be either said or heard amongst Christians.* And in another Place he says, *that they ought to be had in universal Hatred for opposing the Truth; and comforts himself, that the Emperor, upon due Information, would put a Stop to their Wickedness, and that they would not be long liv'd.* And to mention no more, *I therefore exhort you*, says he, *let no one be deceived; but as though the Jewish Impiety was prevailing over the Faith of Christ, be ye all zealous in the Lord.* And let every one hold fast the Faith he hath received from

Ad Imp.
Const.
Apol.
p. 716.

Vol. I.
p. 584.

Orat. i.
cont. Ar.
p. 304.

Vol. I.
p. 291.

p. 292.

the Fathers, which also the Fathers met together at Nice declared in Writing, and endure none of those who may attempt to make any Innovations therein.

'Tis needless to produce more Instances of this kind; whosoever gives himself the Trouble of looking over any of the Writings of this Father, will find in them the most furious Invectives against the *Arians*, and that he studiously endeavours to represent them in such Colours, as might render them the Abhorrence of Mankind, and excite the World to their utter Extirpation.

I write not these Things out of any Aversion to the Memory, or peculiar Principles of *Atbanasius*. Whether I agree with him, or differ from him in Opinion, I think my self equally obliged to give impartially the true Account of him. And as this which I have given of him is drawn partly from History, and partly from his own Writings, I think I cannot be justly charged with misrepresenting him. To speak plainly, I think that *Atbanasius* was a Man of an haughty and inflexible Temper, and more concerned for Victory and Power, than for Truth, Religion, or Peace. The Word *Consubstantial*, that was inserted into the *Nicene Creed*, and the Anathema denounced against all who would or could not believe in it, furnished Matter for endless Debates. Those who were against it censured as Blasphemers those who used it; and as denying the proper Subsistence of the Son, and as falling into the *Sabellian* Heresy. The *Consubstantialists* on the other side reproached their Adversaries as Heathens, and with bringing in the Polytheism of the *Gentiles*. And though they equally denied the Consequences which their respective Principles were charged with, yet as the Orthodox would not part with the Word *Consubstantial*, and the *Arians* could not agree to the Use
of

of it, they continued their unchristian Reproaches and Accusations of each other. *Athanasius* would yield to no Terms of Peace, nor receive any into Communion, who would not absolutely submit to the Decisions of the Fathers of *Nice*. In his Letter Vol. I. to *Johannes* and *Antiochus* he exhorts them to hold fast the Confession of those Fathers, and to reject all who should speak more or less than was contained in it. And in his first Oration against the *Arians* he declares in plain Terms, "That the expressing a Person's Sentiments in the Words of Scripture was no sufficient Proof of Orthodoxy, because the Devil himself used Scripture Words to cover his wicked Designs upon our Saviour; and even farther, that Hereticks were not to be received, though they made use of the very Expressions of Orthodoxy it self." With one of so suspicious and jealous a Nature there could scarce be any possible Terms of Peace; it being extremely unlikely, that without some kind Allowances, and mutual Abatements, so wide a Breach could ever be compromised. Even the Attempts of *Constantine* himself to soften *Athanasius*, and reconcile him to his Brethren, had no other Influence upon him, than to render him more imperious and obstinate; for after *Arius* had given in such a Confession of his Faith as satisfied the Emperor, and expressly denied many of the Principles he had been charged with, and thereupon humbly desired the Emperor's Interposition, that he might be restored to the Communion of the Church; *Athanasius*, out of Hatred to his Enemy, flatly denied the Emperor's Request, and told him, that 'twas impossible for those who had once rejected the Faith, and were anathematized, ever to be wholly restored. This so provoked the Emperor, that he threaten'd to depose and banish him, unless he submitted to his

Id. Ibid. Order; which he shortly after did, by sending
 c. 35. him into *France*, upon an Accusation of several
 Bishops, who, as *Socrates* intimates, were worthy
 of Credit, That he had said he would stop the
 Corn that was yearly sent to *Constantinople* from
 the City of *Alexandria*^d. To such an Height of
 Pride

^d We have seen in the last Note, that the Emperor banished
Athanasius in deference to the Judgment of the Council who
 deposed him. But what confirmed him in his Resolution to
 do it, was this additional Crime of which he was accused,
 which threw the Emperor into a Transport of Passion. *Eusebius*
 and the other Bishops affirmed, that they had this Account
 from four other Bishops; and *Socrates* the Historian plainly in-
 timates that the Accusation was of great Weight, *because the*
Accusers seemed to the Emperor to be worthy of Credit, viz. because
 of their Episcopal Character, and Stations in the Church.

Remarks, Dr. Berryman's Remark here is exceeding remarkable, viz. *the*
 p. 60. *Credit ascribed to these Accusers could be no other than what the*
Office and Station they were in might give them with unthinking
People. Their Office and Station was that of Bishops in the
 Christian Church; and it seems that this Episcopal Office and
 Station gave them no Weight but with unthinking People.
 I thought the Episcopal Office was sacred and *Jure Divino*, by
 direct Succession from the Apostles without Interruption; and
 that this Office might give some Credit even to thinking People.
 But the Doctor shall have his own Way; and let us allow that
 none but unthinking People give any Credit to the Office, who
 were these unthinking People that gave Credit to these Bishops?
 Why truly the Emperor himself; for to him was *Athanasius*
 accused, and by him was he banished. So that the poor Em-
 peror was an unthinking Creature, to give any Credit to the
 Episcopal Office and Station; and the Doctor pays his Com-
 pliment to Majesty and Episcopacy with equal Politeness, in
 representing *Constantine* as a Fool, and his Bishops as—I
 know not what.

But to this Charge was very reasonably objected the great Im-
 probability of the Thing, continues the Doctor, *that a Person of*
so low a Fortune should attempt a Matter of so high a Nature.

Athan. Op. *Athanasius's* Account, as it appears in the Synodical Letter, is
 V. 1. this, *How could a private and poor Man be able to do such Things?*
 p. 730. *How a private or poor Man, when he was Bishop of the large*
and rich See of Alexandria? Eusebius in the Presence of the
 Emperor

Pride was this Bishop now arrived, as even to threaten the Sequestration of the Revenues of the Empire. *Constantine* also apprehended, that this Step was necessary to the Peace of the Church, because *Athanasius* absolutely refused to communicate with *Arius* and his Followers.

Soon after these Transactions *Arius* died, and the Manner of his Death, as it was reported by the Orthodox, *Athanasius* thinks of it self sufficient fully to condemn the *Arian* Heresy, and an evident Proof that it was hateful to God. Nor did *Constantine* himself long survive him; he was succeeded by his three Sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*. *Constantine* the eldest recalled *Athanasius* from Banishment, and restored him to his Bishoprick; upon which Account there arose most grievous Quarrels and Seditions, many being killed, and many publickly whipped by *Athanasius's* Order, according to the Accusations of his Enemies. *Constantius*, after his elder Brother's Death, convened a Synod at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where *Athanasius* was again deposed for these Crimes, and *Gregory* put into the See of *Alexandria*. In this Council a new Creed was drawn up, in which the Word *Consubstantial* was wholly omitted, and the Expressions made use of so general, as that they might have been equally agreed to by the Or-

Ad Solit.
Vit. Agen.
Epist.
p. 809,
810.

Soc. l. 2.
c. 8.
Soz. l. 3.
c. 5.

Soz. l. 3.
c. 5.
Soc. l. 2.
c. 10.

Emperor affirmed with an Oath, that *Athanasius* was rich and powerful, and able to do these Things. Nor can his Riches or his Power be reasonably questioned; nor is it to be imagined that the Emperor would have credited so heinous an Accusation, if there had not been something more than mere hearsay Evidence; or that *Athanasius* would not have defended himself before the Emperor with a better Argument than only to deny the Charge, if he had had any one stronger to have made use of. The Bishops had long before this found out the Art of making great Gain by Godliness, and well knew how to spirit up a Party to accomplish their Designs.

thodox and *Arians*. In the Close of it several Anathema's were added, and particularly upon all who should teach or preach otherwise than what this Council had received, because, as they themselves say, *They did really believe and follow all Things delivered by the Holy Scriptures, both Prophets and Apostles*. So that now the whole Christian World was under a synodical Curse, the opposite Councils having damned one another, and all that differed from them. And if Councils, as such, have any Authority to anathematize all who will not submit to them, this Authority equally belongs to every Council; and therefore 'twas but a natural Piece of Revenge, that as the Council of *Nice* had sent all the *Arians* to the Devil, the *Arians*, in their turn, should take the Orthodox along with them for Company, and thus repay one Anathema with another.

Constantius himself was warmly on the *Arian* side, and favoured the Bishops of that Party only, and ejected *Paul* the Orthodox Bishop from the See of *Constantinople*, as a Person altogether unworthy of it, *Macedonius* being substituted in his room. *Macedonius* was in a different Scheme, or at least expressed himself in different Words both from the Orthodox and *Arians*, and asserted, That the Son was not Consubstantial, but *ομοιουσιος*, not of the same, but a like Substance with the Father; and openly propagated this Opinion, after he had thrust himself into the Bishoprick of *Paul*. This the orthodox Party highly resented, opposing *Hermogenes*, whom *Constantius* had sent to introduce him; and in their Rage burnt down his House, and drew him round the Streets by his Feet till they had murdered him. But notwithstanding the Emperor's Orders were thus opposed, and his Officers killed by the orthodox Party, he treated them

Soc. l. 3.
c. 4.

Athanas.
de Sanct.
Trin. V. 2.
p. 210.

Soc. l. 2.
c. 13.

them with great Lenity, and in this Instance punished them much less than their Insolence and Fury deserved. Soon after this *Athanasius* and *Paul* were restored again to their respective Sees; ^{Soc. l. 2. c. 15.} and upon *Athanasius*'s entering *Alexandria* great Disturbances arose, which were attended with the Destruction of many Persons, and *Athanasius* accused of being the Author of all those Evils. Soon after *Paul*'s return to *Constantinople* he was banished from thence again by the Emperor's Order, and *Macedonius* re-entered into Possession of that See, upon which Occasion three Thousand one Hundred and fifty Persons were murdered, some by the Soldiers, and others by being pressed to Death by the Croud. *Athanasius* also soon followed him into Banishment, being accused of selling the Corn which *Constantine* the Great had given for the Support of the Poor of the Church of *Alexandria**, and putting the Money in his own Pocket; and being therefore threaten'd by *Constantius* ^{c. 17.}

* My Remarker, in his usual Stile, calls this a senseless Accusation; and cries out in a Transport, *Yes, he was accused: And what then? So was our blessed Saviour accused of Blasphemy and Treason.* And when I took the Liberty to ask him, whether he would intimate hereby, that he was as innocent of the Crimes charged on him as Christ was; he replies, with a kind of Hesitation, *Why truly, I do not mean to make a strict Comparison of him with our blessed Saviour.* If he intends to make any, I am sure the *Egyptian* will make but a scurvy Figure, when compared with that amiable and perfect Pattern of Humility and Innocence. And as to my self, my good-natur'd Censurer tells the World, that *I have not any Spark of Ingenuity, or real Sense of Honour*; a Censure that would have made me greatly uneasy, had it come from a Person capable of judging what Ingenuity and Sense of Honour mean. The Emperor *Constantius* believed *Athanasius* this Charge; and in one of his Letters says, that he could not clear himself of any of the Crimes objected to him. Instead of this he excited the Emperor's Brother *Constans* to begin a civil War, that he himself might be recalled from the Banishment ^{Review, p. 61. p. 62. V. 1: p. 696.}

Ad Sol.
Vit. Ag.
p. 813.

Soc. 1. 2.
c. 27.

Ad Conf.
Apol.
p. 695.

stantius with Death. But they were both a little while after recalled by *Constans*, then banished again by *Constantius*; and *Paul*, as some say, murdered by his Enemies the *Arians*, as he was carrying into Exile; though, as *Athanasius* himself owns, the *Arians* expressly denied it, and said that he died of some Distemper. *Macedonius* having thus gotten quiet Possession of the See of *Constantinople*, prevailed with the Emperor to publish a Law, by which those of the Consubstantial, or orthodox Party, were driven not only out of the Churches but Cities too, and many of them compelled to communicate with the *Arians* by Stripes and Torments, by Proscriptions and Banishments, and other violent Methods of Severity. Upon the Banishment of *Athanasius*, whom *Constantius* in his Letter to the Citizens of *Alexandria* calls an *Impostor*, a *Corrupter of Mens Souls*, a *Disturber of the City*, a *pernicious Fellow*, one convicted of the worst Crimes, not to be expiated by his suffering Death ten Times, *George* was put into the See of *Alexandria*,

into which he was sent upon this Accusation; and as the Circumstances and Proofs that *Constantius* proceeded upon in this Affair are not transmitted to us, 'tis impossible to clear *Athanasius* from all Suspicion. I allow that the Council of *Alexandria* endeavour to justify him: But then the Council of *Antioch*, which was near as large, accused him. But says the Doctor, *it doth not appear that they said any thing of the Corn*: No, because Care hath been taken that their Letter should never appear at all. And if they did, he adds, *it could not have the same Weight with the Testimony of the Bishop at Egypt*. Why not? Were all the ninety or hundred Bishops at *Antioch* Knaves or Fools? Did they accuse him without Evidence, or censure him without Examination? The Charge is plain, that he did sell the Corn for his own Use, and the Fact certain, that he was partly banished on this Account; and tho' we now want Evidence to support the Charge, 'tis plain there was some Evidence; and that as this Evidence is suppressed, it hath no favourable Aspect on *Athanasius's* Cause.

whom

whom the Emperor, in the same Letter, styles *a most venerable Person, and the most capable of all* Cont. Ar.
Men to instruct them in heavenly Things; though Orat. I.
Athanasius, in his usual Stile, calls him an Idolater P. 290.
and Hangman, and one capable of all Violences, Ra-
pines, and Murders; and whom he actually charges
with committing the most impious Actions and
outrageous Cruelties. Thus, as Socrates observes, l. 2. c. 25.
was the Church torn in pieces by a Civil War for
the sake of Athanasius and the Word Consub-
stantial.

The Truth is, that the Christian Clergy were now become the chief Incendiaries and Disturbers of the Empire, and the Pride of the Bishops, and the Fury of the People on each side were grown to such an Height, as that there scarce ever was an Election or Restoration of a Bishop in the larger Cities, but it was attended with Slaughter and Blood. *Athanasius* was several Times banished and restored, at the Expence of Blood; the Orthodox were deposed, and the *Arians* substituted in their room; with the Murder of Thousands; and as the Controversy was now no longer about the plain Doctrines of uncorrupted Christianity, but about Power and Dominion, high Preferments, large Revenues, and secular Honours; agreeably hereto, the Bishops were introduced Soc. l. 2.
into their Churches, and placed on their Thrones, c. 15, 16.
by armed Soldiers, and paid no Regard to the Ecclesiastical Rules, or the Lives of their Flocks, so they could get Possession, and keep out their Adversaries: And when once they were in, they treated those who differ'd from them without Moderation or Mercy, turning them out of their Churches, denying them the Liberty of Worship, putting them under an Anathema, and persecuting them with innumerable Methods of Cruelty;

as is evident from the Accounts given by the Ecclesiastical Historians, of *Atbanasius*, *Macedonius*, *George*, and others, which may be read at large in the forementioned Places. In a Word, they seemed to treat one another with the same implacable Bitterness and Severity, as ever their common Enemies, the Heathens, treated them; as though they thought that Persecution for Conscience sake had been the distinguishing Precept of the Christian Religion; and that they could not more effectually recommend and distinguish themselves as the Disciples of Christ, than by tearing

Am. Mar. and devouring one another. This made *Julian*,
l. 22. c. 5. the Emperor, say of them, *That he found by Experience, that even Beasts are not so cruel to Men, as the generality of Christians were to one another.*

This was the unhappy State of the Church in the Reign of *Constantius*, which affords us little more than the History of Councils and Creeds differing from, and contrary to each other; Bishops deposing, censuring, and anathematizing their Adversaries, and the Christian People divided into Factions under their respective Leaders, for the sake of Words they understood nothing of the Sense of, and striving for Victory even to Bloodshed and Death. Upon the Succession of *Julian* to the Empire, though the contending Parties could not unite against the common Enemy, yet they were by the Emperor's Clemency and Wisdom kept in tolerable Peace and Order. The Bishops which had been banished by *Constantius* his Predecessor, he immediately recalled, ordered their Effects, which had been confiscated, to be restored to them, and commanded that no one should injure or hurt any Christian whatsoever. And as

Soc. l. 3.
c. 1.

l. 22. c. 5. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an heathen Writer of those Times, tells us, he caused the Christian Bishops
and

and People, who were at variance with each other, to come into his Palace, and there admonished them, that they should every one profess their own Religion, without Hindrance or Fear, provided they did not disturb the publick Peace by their Divisions. This was an Instance of great Moderation and Generosity, and a Pattern worthy the Imitation of all his Successors.

In the beginning of *Julian's* Reign some of the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, and, as was reported, the Friends of *Athanasius*, by his Advice, raised a great Tumult in the City, and murdered *George*, the Bishop of the Place, by tearing him in pieces, and burning his Body; upon which *Athanasius* returned immediately from his Banishment, and took Possession of his See, turning out the *Arians* from their Churches, and forcing them to hold their Assemblies in private and mean Places. *Julian*, with great Equity, severely reprov'd the *Alexandrians* for this their Violence and Cruelty, telling them, that though *George* might have greatly injured them, yet they ought not to have revenged themselves on him, but to have left him to the Justice of the Laws. *Athanasius*, upon his Restoration, immediately convened a Synod at *Alexandria*, in which was first asserted the Divinity of the Holy Spirit^f, and his Consubstantiality with the Father

Soc. l. 3.
c. 2, 3, 4.
Philost. l. 7.
c. 2.

^f Dr. *Berryman* hath here two tedious Pages of Remarks about the *Pneumatomachi*, and other Things, of which I have not said one Word. The Consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father, was here first asserted by a Synod; which is plainly enough the Meaning of my Words, if a Man hath not a Mind to cavil where he hath no need. He himself allows, that the most antient Catholicks were not so full and express in their Assertions of the Spirit's Divinity: and that the *Nicene* Council had professed only in general to believe in the Holy Spirit. But it seems the *Nicene* Council was not orthodox or explicit enough

Philost. 1. 7. Father and the Son. But his Power there was
 E. 13. but short; for being accused to *Julian* as the De-
 stroyer of that City, and all *Egypt*, he saved him-
 Theod. self by flight, but soon after secretly returned to
 l. 4. c. 2. *Alexandria*, where he lived in great Privacy till
 the Storm was blown over by *Julian's* Death, and
 the Succession of *Jovian* to the Empire, who re-
 stored him to his See, in which he continued un-
 disturbed to his Death.

Although *Julian* behaved himself with great
 Moderation, upon his first Accession to the im-
 perial Dignity, towards the Christians, as well as
 others, yet his Hatred to Christianity soon ap-
 Soc. 1. 3. peared in many Instances. For though he did not,
 c. 14. E. c. like the rest of the Heathen Emperors, proceed
 to sanguinary Laws, yet he commanded, that the
 Children of Christians should not be instructed in
 the *Grecian* Language and Learning. By another
 Edict he ordained, That no Christian should bear
 any Office in the Army, nor have any Concern
 in the Distribution and Management of the pub-
 Theod. lick Revenues. He taxed very heavily, and de-
 l. 3. c. 6, manded Contributions from all who would not sa-
 E. c. crifice, to support the vast Expences he was at in
 his Eastern Expeditions. And when the Gover-
 nors of the Provinces took Occasion from hence to

enough for *Athanasius*; and therefore, as tho' the Word *Con-
 substantial*, as applied to the Son, had not created Quarrels and
 Bloodshed enough, he, upon his Return from Banishment, as
 a kind of Creed-maker general, applies the same Word to the
 Spirit too, and gets a Synod to stamp it with their Authority.
 The Doctor asks, *What Blame can be due to Athanasius on this
 Account?* A little, surely, for mending the *Nicene* Creed, making
 himself wiser than all those Fathers, and adding Fuel to the
 Fire of Contention. He was resolved to have his Will, and
 add synodical Authority to his own Words and Opinions, tho'
 he consumed himself, and the Church of God in the Flames that
 he kindled. Thus much for *Athanasius*.

oppress

oppress and plunder them, he dismissed those who complained with this scornful Answer, *Your God hath commanded you to suffer Persecution!* He also deprived the Clergy of all their Immunities, Honours, and Revenues, granted them by *Constantine*, abrogated the Laws made in their Favour, and ordered they should be listed amongst the Number of Soldiers. He destroyed several of their Churches, and stripped them of their Treasure and sacred Vessels. Some he punished with Banishment, and others with Death, under pretence of their having pulled down some of the Pagan Temples, and insulted himself.

The Truth is, that the Christian Bishops and People shewed such a turbulent and seditious Spirit, that 'twas no wonder that *Julian* should keep a jealous Eye over them; and though otherwise a Man of great Moderation, connive at the Severities his Officers sometimes practised on them. Whether he would have proceeded to any farther Extremities against them, had he returned Victorious from his *Persian Expedition*, as *Theodorit* l. 3. c. 21. affirms he would, cannot, I think, be determined. He was certainly a Person of great Humanity in his natural Temper; but how far his own Superstition, and the Imprudencies of the Christians, might have altered this Disposition, 'tis impossible to say. Thus much is certain, that the Behaviour of the Christians towards him, was, in many Instances, very blameable, and such as tended to irritate his Spirit, and awaken his Resentment. But whatever his Intentions were, he did not live to execute them, being slain in his *Persian Expedition*.

He was succeeded by *Jovian*, who was a Chri-Soc. l. 3.
stian by Principle and Profession. Upon his re-c. 24, 25.
turn from *Persia* the Troubles of the Church
imme-

Theod.
l. 4. c. 4.

immediately revived, the Bishops and Heads of Parties crouding about him, each hoping that he would list on their side, and grant them Authority to oppress their Adversaries. *Athanasius*, amongst others, writes to him in favour of the *Nicene Creed*, and warns him against the Blasphemies of the *Arians*; and though he doth not directly urge him to persecute them, yet he tells him, that 'tis necessary to adhere to the Decisions of that Council concerning the Faith, and that their Creed was Divine and Apostolical; and that no Man ought to reason or dispute against it, as the *Arians* did. A Synod also of certain Bishops met at *Antioch* in *Syria*; and though several of them had been Opposers of the *Nicene Doctrine* before, yet finding that this was the Faith espoused by *Jovian*, they with great Obsequiousness readily confirm'd it, and subscrib'd it, and in a flattering Letter sent it to him, representing that this true and orthodox Faith was the great Center of Unity. The Followers also of *Macedonius*, who rejected the Word *Consubstantial*, and held the Son to be only like to the Father, most humbly besought him, that such who asserted the Son to be unlike the Father might be driven from their Churches, and that they themselves might be put into them in their room; with the Bishops Names subscribed to the Petition. But *Jovian*, though himself in the orthodox Doctrine, did not suffer himself to be drawn into Measures of Persecution by the Arts of these temporizing Prelates, but dismissed them civilly with this Answer: *I hate Contention, and love those only that study Peace*; declaring, that he would trouble none upon account of their Faith, whatever it was; and that he would favour and esteem such only, who should shew themselves Leaders in restoring the Peace of the Church. *Themistius* the Philosopher, in his Oration

upon *Jovian's* Consulate, commends him very justly on this Account, that he gave free Liberty to every one to worship God as he would, and despised the flattering Insinuations of those who would have persuaded him to the Use of violent Methods; concerning whom he pleasantly, but with too much Truth, said, *That he found by Experience, that they worship not God, but the Purple.*

The two Emperors, *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, who succeeded *Jovian*, were of very different Tempers, and embraced different Parties in Religion. The former was of the Orthodox side; Soc. 1. 4. and though he favoured those most who were of^{c. 1.} his own Sentiments, yet he gave no Disturbance to the *Arians*. On the contrary, *Valens*, his Brother, was of a rigid and sanguinary Disposition, and severely persecuted all who differed from him. In the beginning of their Reign a Synod met in^{Theod.} *Illyricum*, who again decreed the Consubstantiality^{l. 4. c. 8.} of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This the two^{Cod.} Emperors declared in a Letter their Assent to,^{Theod.} and ordered that this Doctrine should be preached.^{tit. 16. l. 9.} However, they both published Laws for the Toleration of all Religions, even the Heathen and *Arian*. But *Valens* was soon prevailed on by the^{Soc. 1. 4.} Arts of *Eudoxius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, to for-^{c. 6.} sake both his Principles of Religion and Mode-^{Soz. 1. 6.} ration, and embracing the *Arian* Opinions, he^{c. 7.} cruelly persecuted all those who were of the orthodox Party. The Conduct of the orthodox Synod met at *Lampsacus* was the first Thing that enraged him; for having obtained of him leave to meet, for the Amendment and Settlement of the Faith, after two Months Consultation they decreed the Doctrine of the Son's being like the Father as

to his Essence, to be Orthodox, and deposed all the Bishops of the *Arian* Party. This highly exasperated *Valens*, who thereupon called a Council of *Arian* Bishops, and commanded the Bishops that composed the Council at *Lampsacus* to embrace the Opinions of *Eudoxius* the *Arian*, and upon their Refusal immediately sent them into Banishment, and gave their Churches to their Enemies, sparing only *Paulinus*, for the remarkable Sanctity of his Life. After this he enter'd into more violent Measures, and caused the Orthodox, some of them to be whipped, others to be disgraced, others to be imprisoned, and others to be fined. He also put great Numbers to death, and particularly caused eighty of them at once to be put on Board a Ship, and the Ship to be fired when it was sailed out of the Harbour, where they miserably perished by the Water and the Flames. These Persecutions he continued to the End of his Reign, and was greatly assisted in them by the Bishops of the *Arian* Party.

Soc. Ibid.
c. 15, 16.
Theod.
l. 4. c. 22.

Soc. l. 4.
c. 29.

In the mean Time great Disturbances happened at *Rome*. *Liberius*, Bishop of that City being dead, *Ursinus*, a Deacon of that Church, and *Damasus*, were both nominated to succeed him. The Party of *Damasus* prevailed, and got him chosen and ordained. *Ursinus* being enraged that *Damasus* was preferred before him, set up separate Meetings, and at last procured himself to be privately ordained by certain obscure Bishops. This occasioned great Disputes amongst the Citizens, which should obtain the Episcopal Dignity; and the Matter was carried to such an Height, that great Numbers were murdered in the Quarrel on both sides, no less than one Hundred thirty seven Persons being destroy'd in the Church it self, according

to *Ammianus*, who adds, ² That 'twas no wonder Soc. l. 27, to see those who were ambitious of human Greatness, ^{c. 3.} contending with so much Heat and Animosity for that Dignity, because when they had obtained it, they were sure to be enriched by the Offerings of the Matrons, of appearing abroad in great Splendor, of being admired for their costly Coaches, sumptuous in their Feasts, out-doing Sovereign Princes in the Expences of their Tables. For which Reason *Prætextatus*, an Heathen, who was Prefect of the City the following Year, said, *Make me Bishop of Rome, and I'll be a Christian too.*

Gratian, the Son of *Valentinian*, his Partner and Successor in the Empire, was of the orthodox Party, and after the Death of his Uncle *Valens* recalled those whom he had banished, and restored them to their Sees. But as to the *Arians*, he sent *Theod.* *Sapores*, one of his Captains, to drive them, as ^{l. 5. c. 2.} wild Beasts, out of all their Churches. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, however, that by a Law he ordained, that Persons of all Religions should meet, without fear, in their several Churches, and worship according to their own Way, the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Manichees* excepted.

³ Cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut dicentur oblationibus Matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspice vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas.



S E C T. IV.

The first Council of Constantinople; or second General Council.

T*Heodosius*, soon after his Advancement by *Gratian* to the Empire, discovered a very warm Zeal for the orthodox Opinions; for observing that the City of *Constantinople* was divided into different Sects, he wrote a Letter to them from *Theſſalonica*, wherein he tells them, *That 'twas his Pleasure, that all his Subjects should be of the same Religion with Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria; and that their Church only should be called Catholick, who worshipped the Divine Trinity as equal in Honour; and that those who were of another Opinion should be called Hereticks, become infamous, and be subject to other Punishments. He also forbid Assemblies and Disputations in the Forum, and made a Law for the Punishment of those that should presume to argue about the Essence and Nature of God.*

Soc. 1. 7. c. 4, 6. Upon his first coming to *Constantinople*, being very solicitous for the Peace and Increase of the Church, he sent for *Demophilus* the *Arian* Bishop, and asked him whether he would consent to the *Nicene* Faith, and thus accept the Peace he offered him; adding this strong Argument, *If you refuse to do it, I will drive you from your Churches.* And upon *Demophilus's* Refusal, the Emperor was as good as his Word; and turned him and all the *Arians* out of the City, after they had been in possession of the Churches there for Forty Years. But being willing more effectually to extinguish Heresy, he summoned a Council of Bishops of his own Persuasion,

Soc. 1. 5. c. 7. e. 8.

Perſuaſion, A. C. 381. to meet together at *Conſtantinople*.^h, in order to confirm the *Nicene* Faith :
The Number of them were one Hundred and fifty;
10

^h My Remarker tells me, that *had I ſpared the two firſt Remarks,*
general Councils, he had perhaps been ſilent ; but that ſince theſe p. 3, 4.
two venerable Aſſemblies have not eſcaped the Rancour of my Pen,
he will digeſt my Aſſertions under different Heads, and doubts not
to convince every equitable Reader, that whatever Opinion they
are to entertain of my Abilities, it muſt be with great Abatement
in point of Candour and Ingenuity ; and that I have only looked p. 63.
on this Part of Hiſtory, on purpoſe to rake together what Dirt and
Scandal I could, to blacken the Cauſe, which cannot be confuted.
But can ſuch a Man talk of raking together Dirt and Scandal
without Bluſhing? Hath he *one ſingle clean Page* in all his
Remarks or Review? One Page, where there is not an In-
vective, or a Curſe? When the Gentleman talks of blackening
the Cauſe, if he means the Cauſe or Doctrine of the Trinity,
'tis with equal Honour, Veracity, and Candour, as his other
Charges. I have not ſaid one ſingle Word for or againſt that
Doctrine; and tho' he hath attempted ſeveral Times to draw
me into that Controverſy, I knew the Man too well ever to
engage with him, or *ſuch as he*, in ſuch kind of Debates.
Whether *Athanaſianism* be true or falſe, it makes no manner of
Alteration in my Account. My Enquiries relate to Councils
and Biſhops; ; what Characters they bore, and not whether
their Doctrines were true or falſe. The venerable Council of
Nice hath already been examined; and I will now a little take
to taſk the venerable Council of *Conſtantinople*. They were in
Number 150. And the firſt Objection I have againſt them is,
that they were not an Oecumenical or General One, but a
Trifle in compariſon of all the other Biſhops in the Chriſtian
Church. *Theodoſius*, who convened them, was then only Em-
peror of the Eaſt, and had no Power over the Weſtern Biſhops;
and accordingly there was but one of the Weſtern Biſhops
preſent at this Synod. Beſides this, there was not one of the
Arian Party, who were before condemned, and driven from their
Churches; and but 36 of the *Macedonian* Party, who were nothing
in compariſon of the 150 Orthodox. A ſpecial univerſal Synod
this! where almoſt only one Party was preſent, and that Party
convened to do a certain Job, and determined to do it before
they met. No wonder the *Macedonians* immediately ſeparated
from them, when they found they had to do with ſuch righ-
teous and impartial Judges. Another Objection is, that they
I 2 were

The second
general
Council,
A. C. 381.

to these, for Form's sake, were added thirty-six of the *Macedonian* Party. And accordingly this Council, which is reckoned the second Oecumenical or general one, all of them, except the *Macedonians*, did decree that the *Nicene* Faith should be the

were under the Influence of *Theodosius*, all of his Mind, all called together to confirm his Faith, and do as he bid them. So that they were rather a Party or Faction in the Christian Church, than a General Council. But the worst Objection of all against them, is their Character, as given us by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who well knew them, and speaks of them with the utmost Contempt; and whose Testimony concerning them deserves more to be regarded than that of a thousand *Berrymans*, and such as he. He tells us then that the Bishops who composed this Council, grew in the middle of the Church so bitterly mad against one another, that crying out with loud Voices, and gathering together in Parties, they mutually accused each other, leaped about like Madmen, furiously instigated with the Lust of Power and Dominion, as tho' they would have torn in Pieces the whole World. That the Cause of these Things was not Piety, but that they contended for Thrones. And afterwards he tells us, that after he himself had made a Speech to them, they fell a chattering as tho' they had been a Company of Jackdaws; and that the young Men amongst them, as tho' they were a Crew, met in a Tavern, and whom no one who was possessed of an holy Fear, or who was a Bishop, would have vouchsafed to have conversed with, grew into disorderly Heats and Contentions, and behaved with the Impudence of Wasps, pitching upon Mens Faces. And yet the reverend old Gentlemen followed them, instead of bringing them to a better Mind. *O holy and venerable Synod of Jack-daws, Tavern-Boys, and Wasps!* How fit these Fathers to heal the Divisions of the Church, and settle the Faith for the contending World! This puts me in mind of the wise Resolution made by this Father;

Οὐδέ τι πρὸς συνodoῖσιν ὁμοθροῦνος ἐσσομ' ἐγὼ γε
Χλωὼν ἢ γέρωνων ἀκείτῃ μαρναμένον.
Εὐδ' εἰς, εὐδ' αὖ μοδος τε, καὶ αἰχρὰ κρυπτὰ παροίδει.

I'll never be present in these Councils of Geese and Cranes, endlessly fighting with one another. Hence Confusions, Tumults, and Scandals,

he Standard of Orthodoxy; and that all Heresies should be condemned. They also made an Addition to that Creed, explaining the orthodox Doctrine of the Spirit against *Macedonius*, viz. after the Words Holy Ghost, they inserted, *The Lord, the Quickner, proceeding from the Father, whom with the Father and the Son we worship and glorify, and who spake by the Prophets.* When the Council was ended the Emperor put forth two ^{Cod. Theod. l. 11, 12.} Edicts against Hereticks; by the first prohibiting them from holding any Assemblies; and by the second, forbidding them to meet in Fields or Villages, ordering the Houses where they met to be confiscated, and commanding that such who went

dals; before concealed, have arisen. And what was the Reason of these dire Disturbances he afterwards tells us:

——— Ἀντὶ θρόνων, ὧν περὶ μαρναμένοι
Σχιζονται, καὶ κόσμον ὅλον τεμνυσιν ἀθεσμως.

Gregor.
supra.

They fight, and run into Schisms, and divide the whole World about Thrones, i. e. to get into Possession of the highest and richest of the Episcopal Sees. And to mention only one Place more, which I would particularly recommend to the Consideration of my Remarker:

Τόστος ἐρως φάεσσιν ἐπηχλυσεν ἡμετέροισι
Ἡ δοξὴς κενεάς, ἡ κτήσεως, ἡ φθονος αἶνος.
Καὶ περφατὶς τριὰς ἐστὶ; τὸ δ' ἀτρεκές, ἐχθρὸς ἀπίστον.

Ibid.
p. 84.

So great is our Love of Vain-glory, or Riches, and so grievous is our Envy at one another, that our Eyes are quite blinded. THE TRINITY IS THE PRETENCE; *but the Truth is, it proceeds from implacable Hatred.* I could easily produce many other Things of the like Nature, but I am quite tired with the Subject; and hope I shall have no more extravagant Commendations of this, or any other of the Councils, which consisted of Men, who had they been ever so wise and holy, had no Power to determine in controverted Cases for others; and who, as their Character stands upon Record, appear to have been of all others the most unfit for so important a Work,

to other Places to teach their Opinions, or perform their religious Worship, should be forced to return to the Places where they dwelt, condemning all those Officers and Magistrates of Cities who should not prevent such Assemblies. A little while after the Conclusion of this Council, finding that many Disorders were still occasioned through the Opposition of the several Parties to one another, he convened the principal Persons of each, and ordered them to deliver into his Hand a written Form of their Belief; which after he had received, he retired by himself, and earnestly prayed to God, that he would enable him to make Choice of the Truth. And when after this he had perused the several Papers delivered to him, he tore them all in pieces, except that which contained the Doctrine of the indivisible Trinity, to which he intirely adhered. After this he published a Law, by which he forbid Hereticks to worship or preach, or to ordain Bishops or others, commanding some to be banished, others to be rendered infamous, and to be deprived of the common Privileges of Citizens, with other grievous Penalties of the like Nature. *Sozomen*, however, tells us, that he did not put these Laws in execution, because his Intention was not to punish his Subjects, but to terrify them into the same Opinions of God with himself, praising at the same time those who voluntarily embraced them.

1. 5. c. 20. *Socrates* also confirms the same, telling us, that he only banished *Eunomius* from *Constantinople* for holding private Assemblies, and reading his Books to them, and thereby corrupting many with his Doctrine. But that as to others he gave them no Disturbance, nor forced them to communicate with him, but allowed them all their several Meetings, and to enjoy their own Opinions as to the Christian Faith. Some he permitted to build Churches

Churches without the Cities, and the *Novatians* to retain their Churches within, because they held the same Doctrines with himself.

Arcadius and *Honorius*, the Sons and Successors ^{Soz. l. 8.} of *Theodosius*, embraced the orthodox Religion and ^{c. 1, 2, 4.} Party, and confirmed all the Decrees of the foregoing Emperors in their Favour. Soon after their Accession to the imperial Dignity, *Neſtarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* died, and *John*, called for his Eloquence *Chryſostom*, was ordained in his room: He was a Person of a very rigid and severe Temper, an Enemy to Hereticks, and against allowing them any Toleration. *Gaina*, one of the principal Officers of *Arcadius*, and who was a Christian of the *Arian* Perswasion, desired of the Emperor one Church for himself, and those of his Opinion, within the City. *Chryſostom* being informed of it, immediately went to the Palace, taking with him all the Bishops he could find at *Constantinople*; and in the Presence of the Emperor bitterly inveigh'd against *Gaina*, who was himself at the Audience, and reproached him for his former Poverty, as also with Insolence and Ingratitude. Then he produced the Law that was made by *Theodosius*, by which Hereticks were forbidden to hold Assemblies within the Walls of the City; and turning to the Emperor, perswaded him to keep in force all the Laws against Hereticks; adding, that 'twas better voluntarily to quit the Empire, than to be guilty of the Impiety of betraying the House of God. *Chryſostom* carried his Point, and the Consequence of it was an Insurrection of the *Goths* in the City of *Constantinople*; which had like to have ended in the Burning the imperial Palace, and the Murder of the Emperor, and did actually end in the cutting off all the *Gothick* Soldiers, and the Burning of their Church, with great Numbers of Persons

in it, who fled thither for Safety, and were locked in to prevent their Escape. His violent Treatment of several Bishops, and the arbitrary Manner of his deposing them, and substituting others in their room, contrary to the Desires and Prayers of the People, is but too full a Proof of his imperious Temper, and love of Power. Not content with this, he turned his Eloquence against the Empress *Eudoxia*, and in a set Oration inveighing against bad Women, he expressed himself in such a Manner, as that both his Friends and Enemies believed that the Invective was chiefly levelled against her. This so enraged her, that she soon procured his Deposition and Banishment. Being soon after restored, he added new Provocations to the former, by rebuking the People for certain Diversions they took at a Place where the Statue of the Empress was erected. This she took for an Insult on her Person, and when *Chrysostom* knew her Displeasure on this Account, he used more severe Expressions against her than before, saying, *Herodias is enraged again; she raises fresh Disturbances, and again desires the Head of John in a Charger.* On this and other Accounts he was deposed and banished by a Synod convened for that Purpose, Bishops being always to be had in those Days easily, to do what was desired or demanded of them by the Emperors.

Soz. 1. 8. *Chrysostom* died in his Banishment, according to the Christian Wish of *Epiphanius*, *I hope you'll not die Bishop of Constantinople*; which *Chrysostom* returned with a Wish of the same good Temper, *I hope you'll not live to return to your own City*; so deadly was the Hatred of these Saints and Fathers against each other. After *Chrysostom's* Death his Favourers and Friends were treated with great Severity, not indeed on the Account of Religion, but for other Crimes of Sedition they were charged with; and parti-

particularly, for burning down one of the Churches in the City, the Flames of which spread themselves to the Senate House, and entirely consumed it. Soc. 1. 6. c. 18.

Under the same Emperors the *Donatists* gave sad Specimens of their Cruelty in *Africa* towards the Orthodox, as St. *Austin* informs us. They seized on *Maximianus*, one of the *African* Bishops, as he was standing at the Altar, beat him unmercifully, and ran a Sword into his Body, leaving him for dead. And a little after he adds, That it would be tedious to recount the many horrible Things they made the Bishops and Clergy suffer; some had their Eyes put out; one Bishop had his Hands and Tongue cut off, and others were cruelly destroyed. I forbear, says *Austin*, to mention their barbarous Murders, and demolishing of Houses, not private ones only, but the very Churches themselves. *Honorius* published very severe Edicts against them, ordaining, That if they did not, both Clergy and Laity, return to the Catholics by such a Day, they should be heavily fined, their Estates should be confiscated, the Clergy banished, and their Churches all given to the Catholics. These Laws *Austin* commends as rightly and piously ordained, maintaining the Lawfulness of persecuting Hereticks by all manner of Ways, Death only excepted. Epist. 50. ad Bon. & Epist. 68. ad Januar. Cod. Theod. l. 52.

Under the Reign of *Theodosius*, *Arcadius* his Son, those who were called Hereticks were grievously persecuted by the Orthodox. *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Synnada* in *Pbrygia*, expelled great Numbers of the Followers of *Macedonius* from the City and Country round about, Not from any Zeal for the true Faith, as *Socrates* says, but through Covetousness, and a Design to extort Money from them. On this Account he used all his Endeavours to oppress them, and particularly *Agapetus*, their Bishop; armed his Clergy Soc. 1. 7. c. 3.

Clergy against them, and accused them before the Tribunal of the Judges. And because he did not think the Governors of the Provinces sufficient to carry on this good Work of Persecution, he went to *Constantinople* to procure fresh Edicts against them; but by this means he lost his Bishoprick, the People refusing him Admission into the Church upon his return, and chusing *Agapetus*, whom he had persecuted, in his room.

- Soc. 1. 7. *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, the great Enemy of *Chrysoſtom*, being dead, *Cyrill* was enthroned in his room, not without great Disturbance and Opposition from the People, and used his Power for the Oppression of Hereticks; for immediately upon his Advancement he shut up all the Churches of the *Novatians* in that City, took away all their sacred Treasures, and stripped *Theopemptus* their Bishop of every Thing that he had.
- c. 7. Nor was this much to be wonder'd at, since, as
1. 7. c. 13, *Socrates* observes, that from the Time of *Theophilus*, *Cyrill's* Predecessor, the Bishop of *Alexandria* began to assume an Authority and Power above what belonged to the sacerdotal Order. On this Account the great Men hated the Bishops, because they usurped to themselves a good part of that Power which belonged to the imperial Governors of Provinces; and particularly *Cyrill* was hated by *Orestes*, Prefect of *Alexandria*, not only for this Reason, but because he was a continual Spy upon his Actions. At length their Hatred to each other publicly appeared. *Cyrill* took on him, without acquainting the Governor, or contrary to his leave, to deprive the *Jews* of all their Synagogues, and banished them from the City, and encouraged the Mob to plunder them of their Effects. This the Prefect highly resented, and refused the Bishop's Offers of Peace and Friendship. Upon this about
- fifty

fifty Monks came into the City for *Cyrrill's* Defence, and meeting the Prefect in his Chariot publicly insulted him, calling him Sacrificer and Pagan; adding many other injurious Reproaches. One of them, called *Ammonius*, wounded him in the Head with a Stone, which he flung at him with great Violence, and covered him all over with Blood; and being, according to the Laws, put by *Orestes* publicly to the Torture, he died through the Severity of it. *St. Cyrrill* honourably received the Body into the Church, gave him the new Name of *Thaumafius*, or, *The Wonderful*; ordered him to be looked on as a Martyr, and lavishly extolled him in the Church, as a Person murdered for his Religion. This scandalous Procedure of *Cyrrill's* the Christians themselves were ashamed of, because 'twas publicly known that the Monk was punished for his Insolence; and even *St. Cyrrill* himself had the Modesty at last to use his Endeavours that the whole Affair might be entirely forgotten. The Murder also of *Hypatia*, by *Cyrrill's* Friends and Clergy, merely out of Envy to her superior Skill in Philosophy, brought him and his Church of *Alexandria* under great Infamy; for as she was returning home from a Visit, one *Peter* a Clergyman, with some other Murderers, seized on her, dragged her out of her Chariot, carried her to one of the Churches, stripped her naked, scraped her to Death with Shells, then tore her in pieces, and burnt her Body to Ashes. Sec. 1. 7.
c. 15.

Innocent also, Bishop of *Rome*, grievously persecuted the *Novatians*, and took from them many Churches; and, as *Socrates* observes, was the first Bishop of that See who disturbed them. *Celestine* also, one of his Successors, imitated this Injustice, and took from the *Novatians* the Remainder of their Churches, and forced them to hold their Id. Ibid.
c. 9.
Assemblies

Soc. 1. 7. Assemblies in private; For the Bishops of Rome,
 C. 11. as well as those of Alexandria, had usurped a tyrannical Power, which, as Priests, they had no right to; and would not suffer those who agreed with them in the Faith, as the *Novatians* did, to hold publick Assemblies, but drove them out of their Oratories, and plundered them of all their Substance.

c. 29. *Nestorius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, immediately upon his Advancement, shewed himself a violent Persecutor; for as soon as ever he was ordained, he addressed himself to the Emperor before the whole Congregation, and said, *Purge me, O Emperor, the Earth from Hereticks, and I will give thee in recompence the Kingdom of Heaven. Conquer with me the Hereticks, and I with thee will subdue the Persians.* And agreeable to his bloody Wishes, the fifth Day after his Consecration, he endeavoured to demolish the Church of the *Arians*, in which they were privately assembled for Prayer. The *Arians* in their Rage, seeing the Destruction of it determined, set Fire to it themselves, and occasioned the Burning down the neighbouring Houses; and for this Reason not only the Hereticks, but those of his own Persuasion, distinguished him by the Name of *Incendiary*. But he did not rest here, but tried all Tricks and Methods to destroy Hereticks; and by these Means endangered the Subversion of *Constantinople* it self. He persecuted the *Novatians*, through hatred of *Paul* their Bishop for his eminent Piety. He grievously oppressed those who were not Orthodox as to the Day of keeping *Easter*, in *Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and occasioned the Murders of great Numbers on this Account, at *Miletus* and *Sardis*.

Soz. 1. 7. Few indeed of the Bishops were free from this
 C. 2. wicked Spirit. *Socrates*, however, tells us, that *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople* was a Person of great Piety

Piety and Prudence, and that he did not offer Violence to any of the Hereticks, but that after he had once attempted to terrify them, he behaved more mildly and gently to them afterwards. *Proclus* also, Bishop of the same City, who had been brought up under *Atticus*, was a careful Imitator of his Piety and Virtue, and exercised rather greater Moderation than his Master, being gentle towards all Men, from a Perswasion that this was a much more proper Method than Violence to reduce Hereticks to the true Faith, and therefore he never made use of the imperial Power for this Purpose. And in this he imitated *Theodosius* the Emperor, who was not at all concerned or displeased that any should think differently of God from himself. However, the Number of Bishops of this Temper was but small. Nothing pleased the Generality of them but Methods of Severity, and the utter Ruin and Extirpation of their Adversaries. Soc. 1. 7. c. 41.

Under the Reign of this Emperor, the *Arians* also, in their Turn, used the Orthodox with no greater Moderation, than the Orthodox had used them. The *Vandals*, who were partly Pagans, and partly *Arians*, had seized on *Spain* and *Africa*, and exercised innumerable Cruelties on those who were not of the same Religion with themselves. *Trasimond* their General in *Spain*, and *Genferick* in *Africa*, used all possible Endeavours to propagate *Arianism* throughout all their Provinces. And the more effectually to accomplish this Design, they filled all Places with Slaughter and Blood, by the Advice of the Bishops of their Party, burning down Churches, and putting the orthodox Clergy to the most grievous and unheard of Tortures, to make them discover the Gold and Silver of their Churches, repeating these kind of Tortures several times, so that many actually died under them. *Genferick* seized

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

seized on all the sacred Books he could find, that they might be deprived of the Means of defending their Opinions. By the Counsel of his Bishops, he ordered that none but *Arians* should be admitted to Court, or employ'd in any Offices about his Children, or so much as enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration. *Armogestes*, *Masculon*, and *Saturus*, three Officers of his Court, were inhumanly tortured to make them embrace *Arianism*; and, upon their Refusal, they were stripped of their Honours and Estates, and forced to protract a miserable Life in the utmost Poverty and Want. These and many more Instances of *Genferick's* Cruelty towards the Orthodox, during a long Reign of thirty-eight Years, are related by *Victor*, l. i. in fine.

S E C T. V.

The Council of Ephesus; or Third General Council.

DURING these Transactions, a new Controversy, of a very extraordinary and important Nature, arose in the Church, which, as the other had done before, occasioned many Disorders and Murders, and gave Birth to the third general Council. *Nestorius*, the persecuting Bishop of *Constantinople*, altho' tolerably sound in the Doctrine of the real Deity of the *Logos*, yet excepted against the Virgin *Mary's* being called Θεοτοκον, i. e. *Mother of God*, because, as he argued, *Mary was a Woman, and that therefore God could not be born of her*; adding, *I cannot call him God, who once was not above two or three Months old*; and therefore he substituted another Word in the room of it, calling her Χριστοκον, or *Mother of Christ*. By this Means he seemed to maintain not only the Distinction of the two Natures in Christ, for he allowed the proper

Evag. E. H.
l. i. c. 2.
Soc. l. 7.
c. 32, 34.

proper Personality and Subsistence of the *Logos*, but that there were also two distinct Persons in Christ; the one a mere Man, absolutely distinct from the Word, and the other God, as absolutely distinct from the human Nature. This caused great Disturbances in the City of *Constantinople*, and the Dispute was thought of such Consequence, as to need a Council to settle it. Accordingly *Theodosius* convened one at *Ephesus*, A. C. 431. of which *Cyrill* was President; and as he hated *Nestorius*, he persuaded the Bishops of his own Party to decree, that the Virgin was, and should be, the Mother of God, and to anathematize all who should not confess her in this Character, nor own that the Word of God the Father was united substantially to the Flesh, making one Christ of two Natures, both God and Man together; or who should ascribe what the Scriptures say of Christ to two Persons or Subsistences, interpreting some of the Man, exclusive of the Word; and others of the Word, exclusive of the human Nature; or who should presume to call the Man Christ Θεοτοκος, the Bearer, or the Receptacle of God, instead of God; and hastily to depose *Nestorius* five Days before the coming of *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, with his suffragan Bishops. *John*, upon his Arrival at *Ephesus*, deposed *Cyrill*, in a Council of Bishops held for that Purpose, and accused him of being the Author of all the Disorders occasioned by this Affair, and of having rashly proceeded to the Deposition of *Nestorius*. *Cyrill* was soon absolved by his own Council, and, in Revenge, deposed *John* of *Antioch*, and all the Bishops of his Party. But they were both reconciled by the Emperor, and restored each other to their respective Sees, and, as the Effect of their Reconciliation, both subscribed to the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, who was sent into Banish-

Soc. Ibid.
Evag. l. 1.
c. 5.

Banishment, where, after suffering great Hardships, he died miserably ; being thus made to taste those Sweets of Persecution he had so liberally given to others, in the Time of his Power and Prosperity.

Evag. l. 1.
c. 12.

The Emperor himself, though at first he disapproved of this Council's Conduct, yet afterwards was persuaded to ratify their Decrees, and published a Law, by which all who embraced the Opinions of *Nestorius*, were, if Bishops or Clergymen, ordered to be expelled the Churches ; or if Laymen, to be anathematized. This occasioned irreconcilable Hatreds amongst the Bishops and People, who were so enraged against each other, that there was no passing with any Safety from one Province or City to another, because every one pursued his Neighbour as his Enemy, and, without any Fear of God, revenged themselves on one another, under a Pretence of Ecclesiastical Zeal.

Chal. Con-
cil. Act. 10.
Frag.
Epist.
Edef.
Epic.

S E C T. VI.

The Council of Chalcedon ; or fourth General Council.

Evag. l. 2.
c. 1.

M Arcian, the Successor of *Theodosius* in the Empire, embraced the Orthodox Party and Opinions, and was very desirous to bring about an entire Uniformity in the Worship of God, and to establish the same Form of Doxologies amongst all Christians whatsoever. Agreeably to this his Temper, *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, address'd him soon after his Promotion in these Words : *God hath justly given you the Empire, that you should govern all for the universal Welfare, and for the Peace of his holy Church : And therefore, before and in all Things, take Care of the Principles of the orthodox and most holy Faith, and extinguish the Roarings of the Hereticks, and bring to light the Doctrines of Piety.*

Concil.
Chalced.
Act. 13.

The

The Legates also of *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*, presented him their Accusations against *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*; as did also *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Dorylæum*, beseeching the Emperor that these Things might be judged and determined by a Synod. *Marcian* consented, and ordered the Bishops to meet first at *Nice*, and afterwards at *Chalcedon*, 451. This was the fourth oecumenical or general Council, consisting of near six hundred Prelates. The principal Cause of their assembling was the *Eutychian* Heresy. *Eutyches*, a Presbyter of *Constantinople*, had asserted, in the Reign of *Theodosius, jun.* that *Jesus Christ consisted of two* ^{Evag. l. 1. c. 91} *Natures before his Union or Incarnation, but that after* ^{10.} *this he had one Nature only.* He also denied that *the Body of Christ was of the same Substance with ours.* On this Account, he was deposed in a particular Council at *Constantinople*, by *Flavian*, Bishop of that Place: But, upon his complaining to the Emperor that the Acts of that Council were falsified by his Enemies, a second Synod of the neighbouring Bishops met in the same City, who, after examining those Acts, found them to be genuine, and confirmed the Sentence against *Eutyches*. But *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was at Enmity with *Flavian* of *Constantinople*, obtained, from *Theodosius*, that a third Council should be held on this Affair; which accordingly met at *Ephesus*, which the Orthodox stigmatized by the Name of *Anseum*, the thieving Council, or Council of Thieves. *Dioscorus* was President of it, and, after an Examination of the Affair of *Eutyches*, his Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition was taken off, and himself restored to his Office and Dignity; the Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and others, being deposed in his stead. But the condemned Bishops, and the Legates from *Rome*, appealed

Evag. 1. 2.
c. 4, 18.

from this Sentence to another Council, and prevailed with *Theodosius* to issue his Letters for the assembling one: But as he died before they could meet, the Honour of determining this Affair was reserved for his Successor *Marcian*; and when the Fathers, in obedience to his Summons, were convened at *Chalcedon*, the Emperor favoured them with his Presence; and, in a Speech to them, told them, *That he had nothing more at Heart than to preserve the true and orthodox Christian Faith safe and uncorrupted, and that therefore he proposed to them a Law, that no one should dare to dispute of the Person of Christ, otherwise than as it had been determined by the Council of Nice.* After this Address of the Emperor, the Fathers proceeded to their synodical Business, and, notwithstanding the Synod was divided, some of the Fathers piously crying out, *Damn Dioscorus, banish Dioscorus, banish the Egyptian, banish the Heretick, Christ hath deposed Dioscorus*; others, on the contrary, *Restore Dioscorus to the Council, restore Dioscorus to his Churches*; yet, through the Authority of the Legates of Rome, *Dioscorus* was deposed for his Contempt of the sacred Canons, and for his Contumacy towards the holy universal Synod. After this, they proceeded to settle the Faith according to the *Nicene Creed*, the Opinions of the Fathers, and the Doctrine of *Atanasius*, *Cyrill*, *Cælestine*, *Hilarius*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, and *Leo*; and decreed, that *Christ was truly God, and truly Man, consubstantial to the Father as to his Deity, and consubstantial to us as to his Humanity; and that he was to be confessed as consisting of two Natures without Mixture, Conversion of one into the other, and without Division or Separation; and that it should not be lawful for any Persons to utter, or write, or compose, or think, or teach any other Faith whatsoever; and that if any should presume to do it, they should,*

should, if Bishops or Clergymen, be deposed; and if Monks or Laicks, be anathematized. This procured a loud Acclamation: *God bless the Emperor, God bless the Empress. We believe as Pope Leo doth. Damn the Dividers and the Confounders. We believe as Cyrill did: Immortal be the Name of Cyrill.* Thus the Orthodox believe; and cursed be every one that doth not believe so too. Marcian ratified their Decrees, and banished Dioscorus, and put forth an Edict, containing very severe Penalties against the Eutychians and Apollinarists. By this Law the Emperor ordained, *That they should not have Power of disposing their Estates, and making a Will, nor of inheriting what others should leave them by Will. Neither let them receive Advantage by any Deed of Gift, but let whatsoever is given them, either by the Bounty of the Living, or the Will of the Dead, be immediately forfeited to our Treasury; nor let them have the Power, by any Title or Deed of Gift, to transfer any Part of their own Estates to others. Neither shall it be lawful for them to have or ordain Bishops or Presbyters, or any other of the Clergy whatsoever; as knowing that the Eutychians and Apollinarists, who shall presume to confer the Names of Bishop or Presbyter, or any other sacred Office upon any one, as well as those who shall dare to retain them, shall be condemned to Banishment, and the Forfeiture of their Goods. And as to those who have been formerly Ministers in the Catholick Church, or Monks of the orthodox Faith, and forsaking the true and orthodox Worship of the Almighty God, have or shall embrace the Heresies and abominable Opinions of Apollinarius or Eutyches, let them be subject to all the Penalties ordained by this, or any foregoing Laws whatsoever against Hereticks, and banished from the Roman Dominions, according as former Laws have decreed against the Manicheans. Farther, let not any of the Apollinarists,*

narists, or Eutychians, build Churches or Monasteries, or have Assemblies and Conventicles either by Day or Night; nor let the Followers of this accursed Sect meet in any one's House or Tenement, or in a Monastery, nor in any other Place whatsoever: But if they do, and it shall appear to be with the Consent of the Owners of such Places, after a due Examination, let such Place or Tenement in which they meet be immediately forfeited to us; or if it be a Monastery, let it be given to the orthodox Church of that City in whose Territory it is. But if so be they hold these unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles without the Knowledge of the Owner, but with the Privy of him who receives the Rents of it, the Tenant, Agent, or Steward of the Estate, let such Tenant, Agent, or Steward, or whoever shall receive them into any House or Tenement, or Monastery, and suffer them to hold such unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles, if he be of low and mean Condition, be publicly bastinado'd as a Punishment to himself, and as a Warning to others; but if they are Persons of Repute, let them forfeit ten Pounds of Gold to our Treasury. Farther, let no Apollinarist or Eutychian ever hope for any military Preferment, except to be listed in the Foot Soldiers, or Garrisons: But if any of them shall be found in any other military Service, let them be immediately broke, and forbid all Access to the Palace, and not suffered to dwell in any other City, Town or Country, but that wherein they were born.

But if any of them are born in this august City, let them be banished from this most sacred Society, and from every Metropolitan City of our Provinces. Farther, let no Apollinarist or Eutychian have the Power of calling Assemblies, publick or private, or gathering together any Companies, or disputing in any heretical Manner; or of defending their perverse and wicked Opinions; nor let it be lawful for any one to speak or
write,

write, or publish any thing of their own, or the Writings of any others, contrary to the Decrees of the venerable Synod of Chalcedon. Let no one have any such Books, nor dare to keep any of the impious Performances of such Writers. And if any are found guilty of these Crimes, let them be condemned to perpetual Banishment; and as for those, who through a Desire of Learning, shall hear others disputing of this wretched Heresy, 'tis our Pleasure that they forfeit ten Pounds of Gold to our Treasury, and let the Teacher of these unlawful Tenets be punished with Death. Let all such Books and Papers as contain any of the damnable Opinions of Eutyches or Apollinarius, be burnt, that all the Remains of their impious Perverseness may perish with the Flames; for 'tis but just that there should be a proportionable Punishment to deter Men from these most outrageous Impieties. And let all the Governors of our Provinces, and their Deputies, and the Magistrates of our Cities, know, that if, through Neglect or Presumption, they shall suffer any Part of this most religious Edict to be violated, they shall be condemned to a Fine of ten Pounds of Gold, to be paid into our Treasury; and shall incur the farther Penalty of being declared infamous. For this Law Pope Leo returns him Thanks, and ex-August. horts him farther, that he would reform the See Epist. 75. of Alexandria, and not only depose the heretical Clergy of Constantinople from their clerical Orders, but expel them from the City it self.

At the same Time that they published these cruel Laws, the Authors of them, as Mr. Limborch Hist. Inqu. well observes, would willingly be thought to offer l. 1. c. 4. no Violence to Conscience. Marcian himself, in a Letter to the Archimandrites of Jerusalem, says, Such is our Clemency, that we use no Force with any, to compel him to subscribe, or agree with us, if he be unwilling: For we would not by Terrors and Violence drive Men into the Paths of Truth.

Who would not wonder at this Hypocrisy, and at such Attempts to cover over their Cruelties? They forbid Men to learn or teach, under the severest Penalties, Doctrines which they who teach them are fully perswaded of the Truth of, and think themselves obliged to propagate; and yet the Author of such Penalties would fain be thought to offer no Violence to Conscience. But for what End are all these Penalties against Hereticks ordained? For no other, unquestionably, but that Men may be deterred, by the Fear of them, from openly professing themselves, or teaching others, Principles they think themselves bound in Conscience to believe and teach; that being at length quite tired out, by these Hardships, they may join themselves to the established Churches, and at least profess to believe their Opinions. But this is offering Violence to Conscience, and Persecution in the highest Degree. But to proceed:

Evag. l. 2. c. 5. *Proterius* was substituted by this Council Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the room of *Dioscorus*; and, upon his taking Possession of his Bishoprick, the whole City was put into the utmost Confusion, being divided, some for *Dioscorus*, some for *Proterius*.
Niceph. l. 15. c. 8. The Mob assaulted with great Violence their Magistrates, and being opposed by the Soldiers, they put them to flight by a Shower of Stones; and as they betook themselves to one of the Churches for Sanctuary, the Mob besieged it, and burnt it to the Ground, with the Soldiers in it. The Emperor sent two thousand other Soldiers to quell this Disturbance, who encreased the Miseries of the poor Citizens, by offering the highest Indignities to their Wives and Daughters. And though they were for some Time kept in Awe, yet, upon *Marcian's* Death, they broke out into greater Fury, ordained *Timotheus* Bishop of the City, and murdered

murdered *Proterius*, by running him through with a Sword. After this, they hung him by a Rope, in a publick Place, by way of Derision, and then, after they had ignominiously drawn him round the whole City, they burnt him to Ashes, and even fed on his very Bowels in the Fury of their Revenge. The Orthodox charged these Outrages upon the *Eutychians*; but *Zacharias*, the Historian, mentioned by *Evagrius*, says, *Proterius* himself was the Cause of them, and that he raised the greatest Disturbances in the City: And, indeed, the Clergy of *Alexandria*, in their Letter to *Leo*, the Emperor, concerning this Affair, acknowledge, that *Proterius* had deposed *Timotheus*, with four or five Bishops, and several Monks, for Heresy, and obtained of the Emperor their actual Banishment. Great Disturbances happened also in *Palestine* on Evag. l. 2. the same Account; the Monks who opposed the Council forcing *Juvenal*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to quit his See, and getting one *Theodosius* ordained in his room. But the Emperor soon restored *Juvenal*, after whose Arrival the Tumults and Miseries of the City greatly increased, the different Parties acting by one another just as their Fury and Revenge inspired them.

Leo succeeded *Marcian*, and sent circular Letters c. 9, 10. to the several Bishops, to make Enquiries concerning the Affairs of *Alexandria*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. Most of the Bishops adhered to the Decrees of those Fathers, and agreed to depose *Timotheus*, who was sent to bear *Dioscorus* Company in Banishment.

Under *Zeno*, the Son-in-Law and Successor of *Leo*, *Hunnerick* the *Vandal* grievously persecuted the Orthodox in *Africa*. In the beginning of his Reign he made a very equitable Proposal, that he would allow them the Liberty of choosing a Bishop.

and worshipping according to their own Way, provided the Emperor would grant the *Arians* the same Liberty in *Constantinople*, and other Places. This the Orthodox would not agree to, choosing rather to have their own Brethren persecuted, than to allow Toleration to such as differed from them. *Hunnerick* was greatly enraged by this Refusal, and exercised great Severity towards all who would not profess the *Arian* Faith, being excited hereto by *Cyrill*, one of his Bishops, who was perpetually suggesting to him, that the Peace and Safety of his Kingdom could not be maintained, unless he extirpated all who differed from him as publick Nuisances. This cruel ecclesiastical Advice was agreeable to the King's Temper, who immediately put forth the most severe Edicts against those who held the Doctrine of the Consubstantiality, and turned all those Laws which had been made against the *Arians*, and other Hereticks, against the Orthodox themselves; it being, as *Hunnerick* observes in his Edict, *an Instance of Virtue in a King, to turn evil Counsels against those who were the Authors of them.* But though the Persecution carried on by the Orthodox was no Vindication of *Hunnerick's* Cruelty towards them, yet I think they ought to have observed the Justice of divine Providence, in suffering a wicked Prince to turn all those unrighteous Laws upon themselves, which, when they had Power on their side, they had procured for the Punishment and Destruction of others. A particular Account of the Cruelties exercised by this Prince may be read at large in *Victor de Vandal Persec.* l. 3.

Zeno, though perfectly Orthodox in his Principles, yet was a very wicked and profligate Prince, and rendered himself so extremely hateful to his own Family, by his Vices and Debaucheries, that *Basiliscus*, Brother of *Verina*, Mother of *Zeno's* Empress,

Empress, expelled him the Empire, and reigned in his stead; and having found by Experience, that the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon* had occasioned many Disturbances, he by an Edict ordained, that the *Nicene* Creed alone should be used in all Churches, as being the only Rule of the pure Faith, and sufficient to remove every Heresy, and perfectly to unite all the Churches; confirming at the same Time the Decrees of the Councils of *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*. But as to those of the Council of *Chalcedon*, he ordered, that as they had destroyed the Unity and good Order of the Churches, and the Peace of the whole World, they should be anathematized by all the Bishops; and that wherever any Copies of those Articles should be found they should be immediately burnt. And that whosoever after this should attempt, either by Dispute or Writing, or Teaching, at any Time, Manner or Place, to utter, or so much as name the Novelties that had been agreed on at *Chalcedon* contrary to the Faith, should, as the Authors of Tumults and Seditions in the Churches of God, and as Enemies to God and himself, be subject to all the Penalties of the Laws, and be deposed, if Bishops or Clergymen; and if Monks or Laicks, be punished with Banishment, and Confiscation of their Effects, and even with Death it self. Most of the eastern Bishops subscribed these Letters of *Basiliscus*; and being afterwards met in Council at *Ephesus*, they deposed *Acacius* the orthodox Bishop of *Constantinople*, and many other Bishops that agreed with him. They also wrote to the Emperor to inform him, That they had voluntarily subscribed his Letters, and to persuade him to adhere to them, or that otherwise the whole World would be subverted, if the Decrees of the Synod of *Chalcedon* should be re-established, which had already produced innumerable Slaughters,

ters, and occasioned the shedding of the Blood of the orthodox Christians. But *Acacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, soon forced *Basiliscus* to alter his Measures, by raising up the Monks and Mob of the City against him; so that he recalled his former Letters, and ordered *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, with all their Followers, to be anathematized, and soon after

Evag. 1. 3. he quitted the Empire to *Zeno*. Upon his Restoration he immediately rescinded the Acts of *Basiliscus*, and expelled those Bishops from their Sees which had been ordained during his Abdication. In the mean Time the *Asiatick* Bishops, who in their Letter to *Basiliscus* had declared, that the Report of their subscribing involuntarily, and by force, was a Slander and a Lye; yet, upon this Turn of Affairs, in order to excuse themselves to *Acacius*, and to ingratiate themselves with *Zeno*, affirm, That they did it not voluntarily, but by force, swearing that they had always, and did now believe the Faith of the Synod of *Chalcedon*. *Evagrius* leaves it in doubt, whether *Zacharias* defamed them, or whether the Bishops lyed, when they affirmed that they subscribed involuntarily, and against their Consciences.

c. 13.

c. 14.

Zeno observing the Disputes that had arisen thro' the Decrees of the last Council, published his *Henoticon*, or his uniting and pacifick Edict, in which he confirmed the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, and *Ephesine* Councils, ordained that the *Nicene* Creed should be the Standard of Orthodoxy, declared that neither himself nor the Churches have, or had, or would have any other Symbol or Doctrine but that, condemned *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, and their Followers; and ordered, that whosoever had, or did think otherwise, either now or formerly, whether at *Chalcedon* or any other Synod, should be anathematized. The Intention of the Emperor by

by this Edict, was plainly to reconcile the Friends and Opposers of the Synod of *Chalcedon*; for he condemned *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, as that Council had done, but did not anathematize those who would not receive their Decrees, nor submit to them as of equal Authority with those of the three former Councils: But this Compromise was far from having the desired effect.

During these Things several Changes happen'd Evag. l. 3. c. 11, 12. in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*. *Timothy*, Bishop of that Place, being dead, one *Peter Mongus* was elected by the Bishops Suffragans of that See, which so enraged *Zeno*, that he intended to have put him to Death; but changed it for Banishment, and *Timothy*, Successor of *Proterius*, was substituted in his room. Upon *Timothy's* Death, *John*, a Presbyter of that Church, obtained the Bishoprick by Symony, and in defiance of an Oath he had taken to *Zeno*, that he would never procure himself to be elected into that See. Upon this he was expelled, and *Mongus* restored by the Emperor's Order. *Mongus* immediately consented, and subscribed to the pacifick Edict, and received into Communion those who had formerly been of a different Party. Soon after this he was accused by *Calendio*, Bishop c. 16. of *Antioch*, for Adultery, and for having publickly anathematized the Synod of *Chalcedon* at *Alexandria*; and though this latter Charge was true, yet c. 17. he solemnly denied it in a Letter to *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, turning with the Time, condemning and receiving it, just as it suited his Views, and served his Interest. But being at last accused before c. 20, 21. *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, he was pronounced an Heretic, excommunicated, and anathematized.

Anastasius, who succeeded *Zeno*, was himself a Evag. l. 3. c. 30. great Lover of Peace, and endeavoured to promote it, both amongst the Clergy and Laity, and

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

and therefore ordered, that there should be no Innovations in the Church whatsoever. But this Moderation was by no means pleasing to the Monks and Bishops. Some of them were great Sticklers for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and would not allow so much as a Syllable or a Letter of their Decrees to be altered, nor communicate with those who did not receive them. Others were so far from submitting to this Synod, and their Determinations, that they anathematized it; whilst others adhered to *Zeno's Henoticon*, and maintained Peace with one another, even though they were of different Judgments concerning the Nature of Christ. Hence the Church was divided into Factions, so that the Bishops would not communicate with each other. Not only the Eastern Bishops separated from the Western, but those of the same Provinces had Schisms amongst themselves. The Emperor, to prevent as much as possible these Quarrels, banished those who were most remarkably troublesome from their Sees, and particularly the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, forbidding all Persons to preach either for or against the Council of *Chalcedon*, in any Places where it had not been usual to do it before; that by allowing all Churches their several Customs, he might prevent any Disturbances upon account of Innovations.

Evag. 1. 3. But the Monks and Bishops prevented all these
c. 31, 32. Attempts for Peace, by forcing one another to make new Confessions and Subscriptions, and by anathematizing all who differed from them as Hereticks; so that by their seditious and obstinate Behaviour they occasioned innumerable Quarrels and Murders in the Empire. They also treated the Emperor himself with great Insolence, and excommunicated him as an Enemy to the Synod of *Chalcedon*. *Macedonius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*,
and

and his Clergy, raised the Mob of that City against him, only for adding to one of their Hymns these Words, *Who was crucified for us.* And when for this Reason *Macedonius* was expelled his Bishoprick, they urged on the People to such an height of Fury as endangered the utter Destruction of the City; for in their Rage they set Fire to several Places in it, cut off the Head of a Monk, crying out, he was *an Enemy of the Trinity*; and were not to be appeased till the Emperor himself went amongst them without his imperial Diadem, and brought them to Temper by proper Submissions and Persuasions. And though he had great reason to be offended with the Bishops for such Usage, yet he was of so human and tender a Disposition, that though he ordered several of them to be deposed for various Offences, yet apprehending that it could not be effected without Bloodshed, he wrote to the Prefect of *Asia*, *Not to do any Thing in the Affair, if it would occasion the shedding a single Drop of Blood.*

Under this Emperor *Symmachus* Bishop of *Rome* expelled the *Manichees* from the City, and ordered their Books to be publicly burnt before the Doors of the Church.

Justin was more zealous for Orthodoxy than his Predecessor *Anastasius*, and in the first Year of his Reign gave a very signal Proof of it. *Severus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, was warm against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and continually anathematizing it in the Letters he wrote to several Bishops; and because the People quarrelled on this Account, and divided into several Parties, *Justin* ordered the Bishop to be apprehended, and his Tongue to be cut out; and commanded that the Synod of *Chalcedon* should be preached up through all the Churches of the Empire. *Platina* also tells us, that he banished

In vit.
Johan. 1.
Platin.

nished the *Arians*, and gave their Churches to the Orthodox. *Hormisdas* also, Bishop of *Rome*, in imitation of his Predecessor *Symmachus*, banished the Remainder of the *Manichees*, and caused their Writings to be burnt.

Evag. l. 3.
c. 11.

Justinian, his Successor in the Empire, succeeded him also in his Zeal for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and banished the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, because they would not obey his Orders, and receive the Decrees of that Synod. He also published a Constitution, by which he anathematized them and all their Followers; and ordered, that whosoever should preach their Opinions should be subject to the most grievous Punishments. By this means nothing was openly preached in any of the Churches but this Council; nor did any one dare to anathematize it. And whosoever were of a contrary Opinion, they were compelled by innumerable Methods to come into the Orthodox Faith.

Paul.
Diacon.
c. 16.

In the third Year of his Reign he published a Law, ordering that there should be no Pagans, nor Hereticks, but orthodox Christians only, allowing to Hereticks three Months only for their Conversion. By another he deprived Hereticks of the Right of Succession. By another he rendered them incapable of being Witnesses in any Trial against Christians. He prohibited them also from baptizing any Persons, and from transcribing heretical Books, under the Penalty of having the Hand cut off. These Laws were principally owing to the Persuasions of the Bishops. Thus *Agapetus*, Bishop of *Rome*, who had condemned *Anthimus*, and deposed him from his See of *Constantinople*, persuaded *Justinian* to banish all those whom he had condemned for Heresy. *Pelagius* also desired, that Hereticks and Schismatics might be punished by the secular Power, if they would not be converted.

Cod. de
Heret.
Novel. 42.
c. 1.

Platin.

The

The Emperor was too ready to comply with this Advice. But notwithstanding all this Zeal for Orthodoxy, and the cruel Edicts published by him for the Extirpation of Heresy, he was infamously Covetous, sold the Provinces of the Empire to Plunderers and Oppressors, stripped the Wealthy of their Estates upon false Accusations and forged Crimes, and went Partners with common Whores in their Gains of Prostitution; and what is worse, in the Estates of those whom those Wretches falsely accused of Rapes and Adulteries. And yet, that he might appear as Pious as he was Orthodox, he built out of these Rapines and Plunders many stately and magnificent Churches; many religious Houses for Monks and Nuns, and Hospitals for the Relief of the Aged and Infirm. *Evagrius* also charges him with more than bestial Cruelty in the Case of the *Venetians*, whom he not only allowed, but even by Rewards encouraged to murder their Enemies at Noon-day, in the very Heart of the City, to break open Houses, and plunder the Possessors of their Riches, forcing them to redeem their Lives at the Expence of all they had. And if any of his Officers punished them for these Violences, they were sure to be punished themselves with Infamy or Death. And that each side might taste of his Severities, he afterwards turned his Laws against the *Venetians*, putting great Numbers of them to Death, for those very Murders and Violences he had before encouraged and supported.

Evag. l. 4. c. 30.

c. 32.



S E C T. VII.

The second Council at Constantinople; or fifth General Council.

DURING his Reign, in the 24th Year of it, was held the fifth general Council at *Constantinople*, A. C. 553. consisting of about 165 Fathers. The Occasion of their Meeting was the Opposition that was made to the four former general Councils, and particularly the Writings of *Origen*, which *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, accused, as full of many dangerous Errors. In the first Sessions it was debated, Whether *those who were dead were to be anathematized?* One *Eutychius* looked with Contempt on the Fathers for their Hesitation in so plain a Matter, and told them, that there needed no Deliberation about it; for that King *Josias* formerly did not only destroy the idolatrous Priests who were living, but dug also those who had been dead long before out of their Graves. So clear a Determination of the Point, who could resist? The Fathers immediately were convinced, and *Justinian* caused him to be consecrated Bishop of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Menas*, just deceas'd, for this his Skill in Scripture and Casuistry. The Consequence was, that the Decrees of the four preceding Councils were all confirmed; those who were condemned by them re-condemned and anathematized, particularly *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, and *Ibas*, with their Writings, as favouring the Impieties of *Nestorius*; and finally, *Origen*, with all his detestible and execrable Principles, and all Persons whatsoever who should think, or speak of them, or dare to defend them. After these Transactions the Synod sent an Account of them to *Justinian*, whom they

Evag. l. 4.
c. 38.

they complimented with the Title of *the most Christian King*, and with having a Soul partaker of the heavenly Nobility. And yet soon after these Flatteries his most Christian Majesty turned Heretick himself, and endeavoured with as much Zeal to propagate Heresy, as he had done Orthodoxy before: He published an Edict, by which he ordained, That *the Body of Christ was incorruptible, and incapable even of natural and innocent Passions; that before his Death he eat in the same manner as he did after his Resurrection, receiving no Conversion or Change from his very Formation in the Womb, neither in his voluntary or natural Affections, nor after his Resurrection.* But as he was endeavouring to force the Bishops to receive his Creed, God was pleased, as *Evagrius* observes, to cut him off; and notwithstanding *the heavenly Nobility of his Soul*, he went, as the same Author charitably supposes, to the Devil.

Hunnerick, the Arian King of the Vandals, treated the Orthodox in this Emperor's Reign with great Cruelty in *Africa*, because they would not embrace the Principles of *Arius*; some he burnt, and others he destroyed by different Kinds of Death; he ordered the Tongues of several of them to be cut out, who afterwards made their Escape to *Constantinople*; where *Procopius*, if you will believe him, affirms he heard them speak as distinctly as if their Tongues had remained in their Heads. *Justinian* himself mentions them in one of his Constitutions. Two of them, however, who happened to be Whore-Masters, lost afterwards the Use of their Speech for this Reason, and the Honour and Grace of Martyrdom.

Evag. l. 5. *Justin* the younger, who succeeded *Justinian*, published an Edict soon after his Advancement, by which he sent all Bishops to their respective Sees, and to perform divine Worship according to the usual Manner of their Churches, without making any Innovations concerning the Faith. As to his personal Character, he was extremely dissolute and debauched, and addicted to the most vile and criminal Pleasures. He was also sordidly Covetous, and sold the very Bishopricks to the best Bidders, putting them up to publick Auction.

c. 2. Nor was he less remarkable for his Cruelty: He had a near Relation of his own Name, whom he treacherously murdered; and of whom he was so jealous, that he could not be content till he and his Empress had trampled his Head under their Feet.

c. 3. However, he was very Orthodox, and published a new Explication of the Faith, which for Clearness and Subtlety exceeded all that went before it. In this he professes, *That he believed in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Consubstantial Trinity, one Deity, or Nature, or Essence, and one Virtue, Power and Energy, in three Hypostases or Persons; and that he adored the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, having a most admirable Division and Union; the Unity according to the Essence or Deity; the Trinity according to the Properties, Hypostases or Persons; for they are divided indivisibly; or if I may so speak, they are joined together separately. The Godhead in the Three is One, and the Three are One, the Deity being in them; or to speak more accurately, which Three are the Deity. It is God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, when each Person is considered by it self, the Mind thus separating Things inseparable; but the Three are God, when considered together, being one in Operation and Nature.*

We believe also in one only begotten Son of God, God the Word——for the Holy Trinity received no Addition of a fourth Person, even after the Incarnation of God the Word, one of the holy Trinity. But our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same, Consubstantial to God, even the Father, according to his Deity, and Consubstantial to us according to his Manhood; liable to suffering in the Flesh, but impassible in the Deity. For we do not own that God the Word, who wrought the Miracles, was one, and he that suffered another; but we confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, was one and the same, who was made Flesh and became perfect Man; and that the Miracles and Sufferings were of one and the same: For it was not any Man that gave himself for us, but God the Word himself, being made Man without change; so that when we confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, compounded of each Nature, of the Godhead and Manhood, we do not introduce any Confusion or Mixture by the Union——for as God remains in the Manhood, so also nevertheless doth the Man, being in the Excellency of the Deity, Emanuel being both in one and the same, even one God and also Man. And when we confess him to be perfect in the Godhead, and perfect in the Manhood, of which he is compounded, we don't introduce a Division in part, or Section to his one compounded Person, but only signify the Difference of the Natures, which is not taken away by the Union; for the divine Nature is not converted into the human, nor the human Nature changed into the divine. But we say, that each being considered, or rather actually existing in the very Definition or Reason of its proper Nature, constitutes the Oneness in Person. Now this Oneness as to Person signifies that God the Word, i. e. one Person of the three Persons of the Godhead was not united to a pre-existent Man, but that he formed to himself in the Womb of our holy Lady Mary, glorious Mother of God, and ever a Virgin, and out of

ber, in his own Person, *Flesh consubstantial to us, and liable to all the same Passions, without Sin, animated with a reasonable and intellectual Soul.*——For considering his inexplicable Oneness, we orthodoxly confess one Nature of God the Word made Flesh, and yet conceiving in our Minds the Difference of the Natures, we say they are two, not introducing any manner of Division. For each Nature is in him; so that we confess him to be one and the same Christ, one Son, one Person, one Hypostasis, God and Man together. Moreover, we anathematize all who have, or do think otherwise, and judge them as cut off from the holy Catholick, and apostolick Church of God. To this extraordinary Edict, all, says the Historian, gave their Consent, esteeming it to be very Orthodox, though they were not more united amongst themselves than before.

Platin in
vit. Greg.
I.

Under *Mauricius*, John Bishop of Constantinople, in a Council held at that City, stiled himself Oecumenical Bishop, by the Consent of the Fathers there assembled; and the Emperor himself ordered Gregory to acknowledge him in that Character. Gregory absolutely refused it, and replied, that the Power of binding and loosing was delivered to Peter and his Successors, and not to the Bishops of Constantinople; admonishing him to take care, that he did not provoke the Anger of God against himself, by raising Tumults in his Church. This Pope was the first who stiled himself, *Servus Servorum Dei*, Servant of the Servants of God; and had such an Abhorrence of the Title of Universal Bishop, that he said, *I confidently affirm, that whosoever calls himself universal Priest is the Forerunner of Antiebrist, by thus proudly exalting himself above others.*

1. 6. Epist.
194.

Platin in
vit. Bonif.
III.

But however modest Gregory was in refusing and condemning this arrogant Title, Boniface III. thought better of the Matter, and after great Struggles, prevailed with Phocas, who murdered *Mauricius*

Mauricius the Emperor, to declare, that the See of the blessed Apostle *Peter*, which is the Head of all Churches, should be so called and accounted by all, and the Bishop of it Oecumenical or universal Bishop. The Church of *Constantinople* had claimed this Precedence and Dignity, and was sometimes favoured herein by the Emperors, who declared, that the first See ought to be in that Place which was the Head of the Empire. The *Roman* Pontiffs, on the other hand, affirmed, that *Rome*, of which *Constantinople* was but a Colony, ought to be esteemed the Head of the Empire, because the *Greeks* themselves, in their Writings, stile the Emperor *Roman* Emperor, and the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* are called *Romans*, and not *Greeks*; not to mention that *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, gave the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to his Successors, the Popes of *Rome*. On this Foundation was the Superiority of the Church of *Rome* to that of all other Churches built; and *Phocas*, who was guilty of all Villanies, was one of the fittest Persons that could be found to gratify *Boniface* in this Request. *Boniface* also called a Council at *Rome*, where this Supremacy was confirmed, and by whom it was decreed, that Bishops should be chosen by the Clergy and People, approved by the Prince of the City, and ratified by the Pope with these Words, *Volumus & jubemus*. For this is our Will and Command. To reward *Phocas* for the Grant of the Primacy, he approved the Murder of *Mauritius*, and very honourably received his Images, which he sent to *Rome*. And having thus wickedly possessed themselves of this unrighteous Power, the Popes as wickedly used it, soon brought almost the whole Christian World into subjection to them, and became the Persecutors General of the Church of God; proceeding

from one Usurpation to another, till at last they brought Emperors, Kings and Princes into subjection, forcing them to ratify their unrighteous Decrees, and to punish, in the severest Manner, all that should presume to oppose and contradict them, till she became *drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Jesus, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth.*

The Inquisition is the Master-piece of their Policy and Cruelty; and such an Invention for the Suppression of Religion and Truth, Liberty and Knowledge, Innocence and Virtue, as could proceed from no other Wisdom but that which is *earthly, sensual, and devilish.* And as the History of it, which I now present my Reader with a faithful Abstract of, gives the most perfect Account of the Laws and Practices of this accursed Tribunal, I shall not enter into the Detail of Popish Persecutions, especially as we have a full Account of those practised amongst our selves in *Fox* and other Writers, who have done Justice to this Subject, I shall only add a few Things relating to the two other general Councils, as they are filed by Ecclesiastical Historians.

Plat. in vit. Under *Heraclius*, the Successor of *Phocas*, great
 Honorii I. Disturbances were raised upon Account of what they called the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, i. e. those who held there were not two Wills, the Divine and Human, in Christ, but only one single Will or Operation. The Emperor himself was of this Opinion, being persuaded into it by *Pyrrhus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. And though he afterwards seems to have changed his Mind in this Point, yet in order to promote Peace, he put forth an Edict, forbidding Disputes or Quarrels, on either side the Question.

Question. *Constans*, his Grandson, was of the same Sentiment, and at the Instigation of *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, grievously persecuted those who would not agree with him. *Martyn*, Pope of *Rome*, sent his Legates to the Emperor and Patriarch to forsake their Errors, and embrace the Truth; but his Holiness was but little regarded, and after his Legates were imprisoned and whipped, they were sent into Banishment. This greatly enraged *Martyn*, who convened a Synod at *Rome* of 150 Bishops, who decreed, that whosoever should not confess two Wills, and two Operations united, the Divine and the Human, in one and the same Christ, should be anathema, and that *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople* should be condemned and deposed. The Emperor highly resented this Conduct, and sent *Olympius* Hexarch into *Italy* to propagate the *Monotheelite* Doctrine; and either to kill *Martyn*, or send him Prisoner to *Constantinople*. *Olympius* not being able to execute either Design, *Theodorus* was sent in his room, who apprehended the Pope, put him in Chains, and got him conveyed to the Emperor, who after ignominiously treating him, banished him to *Pontus*, where he died in great Misery and Want. The Bishops of *Constans's* Party were greatly assistant to him in this Work of Persecution, and shewed more Rage against their Fellow-Christians, than they did against the very Barbarians themselves.

Plat. in vit.
Mart.

Act. 15. 1.
Constan.
Tom. C. 1.
cil. 2.



S E C T. VIII.

The Third Council at Constantinople; or Sixth General Council.

Plat in vit.
Agath.

Constantine, the eldest Son of *Constans*, cut off his two younger Brothers *Noses*, that they might not share the Empire with him; but however happened to be more Orthodox than his Predecessors; and by the Persuasion of *Agatho*, Pope of Rome, convened the Sixth General Council at Constantinople, A. D. 680. in which were present 289 Bishops. The Fathers of this holy Synod complimented the Emperor with being another David, raised up by Christ, their God, a Man after his own Heart; who had not given Sleep to his Eyes, nor Slumber to his Eye-lids, till he had gathered them together, to find out the perfect Rule of Faith. After this they condemned the Heresy of one Will in Christ, and declared, That they glorified two natural Wills and Operations, indivisibly, inconvertibly, without Confusion, and inseparably in the same Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, i. e. the divine Operation, and the human Operation. So that now the Orthodox Faith, in reference to Christ, was this; that he had two Natures, the divine and human; that these two Natures were united, without Confusion, into one single Person; and that in this one single Person, there were two distinct Wills and Operations, the human and divine. Thus, at last, 680 Years after Christ, was the Orthodox Faith, relating to his Deity, Humanity, Nature and Wills, decided and settled by this Synod; who, after having pronounced Anathemas against the Living and Dead, ordered the Burning of heretical Books, and deprived several Bishops of their Sees; procured an Edict from

from the Emperor, commanding all to receive their Confession of Faith, and denouncing not only eternal, but corporal Punishments to all Recusants; viz. if they were Bishops, or Clergymen, or Monks, they were to be banished; if Laymen, of any Rank and Figure, they were to forfeit their Estates, and lose their Honours; if of the common People, they were to be expelled the Royal City. These their definitive Sentences were concluded with the usual Exclamation, of, *God save the Emperor, Long live the Orthodox Emperor; down with the Hereticks; cursed be Eutyches, Macarius, &c. The Trinity hath deposed them.*

The next Controversy of Importance was relating to the Worship of Images. The Respect due to the Memories of the Apostles and Martyrs of the Christian Church, was gradually carried into great Superstition, and at length degenerated into downright Idolatry. Not only Churches were dedicated to them, but their Images placed in them, and religious Adoration paid to them. *Platina* tells us, that amongst many other Ceremonies introduced by Pope *Sixtus III.* in the Fifth Century, he persuaded *Valentinian* the younger, Emperor of the *West*, to beautify and adorn the Churches, and to place upon the Altar of *St. Peter* a golden Image of our Saviour, enriched with Jewels. In the next Century the Images of the Saints were brought in, and religious Worship paid to them. This appears from a Letter of Pope *Gregory's*, to the Bishop of *Marseilles*, who broke in Pieces certain Images, because they had been superstitiously adored. *Gregory* tells him, *I commend you, that through a pious Zeal, you would not suffer that which is made with Hands to be adored; but I blame you for breaking the Images in Pieces: For 'tis one Thing to adore a Picture, and another to learn by the History of the*
l.g. Ind. 2.
Ep. 9.
Picture

Picture what is to be adored. And elsewhere he declares, that *Images and Pictures in Churches, were very useful for the Instruction of the Ignorant, who could not read.* *Sergius*, after this, repaired the Images of the Apostles. *John VII.* adorned a great many Churches with the Pictures and Images of the Saints. And at length, in the Reign of *Philippicus*, *Constantine* the Pope, in a Synod held at *Rome*, decreed, that Images should be fixed up in the Churches, and have great Adoration paid them. He also condemned and excommunicated the Emperor himself for Heresy; because he erased the Pictures of the Fathers, which had been painted on the Walls of the Church of *St. Sophia* at *Constantinople*; and commanded, that his Images should not be received into the Church; that his Name should not be used in any publick or private Writings, nor his Effigies stamped upon any kind of Money whatsoever.

This Superstition of bringing Images into Churches was warmly opposed, and gave Occasion to many Disturbances and Murders. The Emperor *Leo Isaurus* greatly disapproved this Practice, and published an Edict, by which he commanded all the Subjects of the *Roman Empire* to deface all the Pictures, and to take away all the Statues of the Martyrs and Angels out of the Churches, in order to prevent Idolatry, threatening to punish those who did not, as publick Enemies.

Pope Gregory II. opposed this Edict, and admonished all Catholics, in no manner to obey it. This occasioned such a Tumult at *Ravenna* in *Italy*, between the Partisans of the Emperor and the Pope, as ended in the Murder of *Paul*, *Exarch of Italy*, and his Son; which enraged the Emperor in an high Degree; so that he ordered all Persons to bring to him all their Images of Wood, Brass and

and Marble, which he publickly burnt; punishing with Death all such as were found to conceal them. He also convened a Synod at *Constantinople*; where, after a careful and full Examination, it was unanimously agreed, that the Intercession of the Saints was a mere Fable; and the Worship of Images and Relicks was downright Idolatry, and contrary to the Word of God. And as *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, favoured Images, the Emperor banished him, and substituted *Anastasius*, who was of his own Sentiments, in his room. *Gregory III.* in the beginning of his Pontificate, assembled his Clergy, and by their unanimous Consent, deposed him on this Account, from the Empire, and put him under Excommunication; and was the first who withdrew the *Italians* from their Obedience to the Emperors of *Constantinople*, calling in the Assistance of *Charles* King of *France*. After this, he placed the Images of Christ and his Apostles in a more sumptuous Manner than they were before upon the Altar of *St. Peter*, and at his own Expence made a golden Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding Christ in her Arms, for the Church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*. Platin.

Constantine Copronymus, *Leo's* Son and Successor in the Empire, inherited his Father's Zeal against the Worship of Images, and called a Synod at *Constantinople* to determine the Controversy. The Fathers being met together, to the Number of 330, after considering the Doctrine of Scripture, and the Opinions of the Fathers, decreed, That every Image, of whatsoever Materials made and formed by the Artist, should be cast out of the Christian Church as a strange and abominable Thing; adding an Anathema upon all who should make Images or Pictures, or Representations of God, or of Christ, or of the Virgin *Mary*,

Mary, or of any of the Saints, condemning it as a vain and diabolical Invention; deposing all Bishops, and subjecting the Monks and Laity, who should set up any of them in publick or private, to all the Penalties of the imperial Constitutions. They also deposed Constantine, Patriarch of Constantinople, for opposing this Decree; and the Emperor first banished him, and afterwards put him to Death; and commanded, That this Council should be esteemed and received as the seventh oecumenical, or universal one.

Platin. in
vit. Paul. I.

Paul I. Pope of Rome, sent his Legate to Constantinople, to admonish the Emperor to restore the sacred Images and Statues which he had destroy'd; and threatened him with Excommunication upon his Refusal. But Copronymus slighted the Message, and treated the Legates with great Contempt, and used the Image Worshippers with a great deal of Severity.

Id. in vit.
Stephani.

Constantine, Bishop of Rome, the Successor of Paul, seems also to have been an Enemy to Images, and was there tumultuously deposed; and Stephen III. substituted in his Room, who was a warm and furious Defender of them. He immediately assembled a Council in the Lateran Church, where the holy Fathers abrogated all Constantine's Decrees; deposed all who had been ordained by him Bishops; made void all his Baptisms and Chrisms; and, as some Historians relate, after having beat him, and used him with great Indignity, made a Fire in the Church, and burnt him therein. After this, they annulled all the Decrees of the Synod of Constantinople, ordered the Restoration of Statues and Images, and anathematized that execrable and pernicious Synod, giving this excellent Reason for the Use of Images; That if 'twas lawful for Emperors, and those who had deserved well of the Commonwealth, to have their Images erected;

but

but not lawful to set up those of God, the Condition of the immortal God would be worse than that of Men. After this the Pope published the Acts of the Council, and pronounced an Anathema against all those who should oppose it.

S E C T. IX.

The second Nicene Council; or Seventh General Council.

THUS the Mystery of this Iniquity worked, till at length, under the Reign of Irene and Constantine her Son, a Synod was packed up of such Bishops as were ready to make any Decrees that should be agreeable to the Roman Pontiff, and the Empress. They met at Nice, An. 787. to the Number of about 350. In this venerable Assembly it was decreed, *That holy Images of the Cross should be consecrated, and put on the sacred Vessels and Vestments, and upon Walls and Boards, in private Houses and publick Ways; and especially that there should be erected Images of the Lord our God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, of our blessed Lady, the Mother of God, of the venerable Angels, and of all the Saints. And that whosoever should presume to think or teach otherwise, or to throw away any painted Books, or the Figure of the Cross, or any Image or Picture, or any genuine Relicks of the Martyrs, they should, if Bishops or Clergymen, be deposed; or if Monks or Laymen, be excommunicated.* Then they pronounced Anathemas upon all who should not receive Images, or who should call them Idols, or who should wilfully communicate with those who rejected and despised them; adding, according to Custom, *Long live Constantine and Irene his Mother. Damnation to all Hereticks. Damnation on the Council that roared against*

against venerable Images: The holy Trinity hath deposed them.

Irene and *Constantine* approved and subscribed these Decrees, and the Consequence was, That Idols and Images were erected in all the Churches; and those who were against them, treated with great Severity. This Council was held under the Popedom of *Hadrian I.* and thus, by the Intrigues of the Popes of *Rome*, Iniquity was established by a Law, and the Worship of Idols authorized and established in the Christian Church, though contrary to all the Principles of natural Religion, and the Nature and Design of the Christian Revelation.

In vit.
Hadrian I.

'Tis true, that this Decision of the Council did not put an intire End to the Controversy. *Platina* tells us, that *Constantine* himself not long after annulled their Decrees, and removed his Mother from all Share in the Government. The Synod also of *Francfort*, held about six Years after, decreed that the Worship and Adoration of Images was impious; condemned the Synod of *Nice*, which had established it, and ordered that it should not be called either the Seventh, or an universal Council. But as the *Roman* Pontiffs had engrossed almost all Power into their own Hands, all Opposition to Image Worship became ineffectual; especially as they supported their Decrees by the Civil Power, and caused great Cruelties to be exercised towards all those who should dare dispute or contradict them.

For many Years the World groaned under this antichristian Yoke; nor were any Methods of Fraud, Imposture and Barbarity, left unpractised to support and perpetuate it. As the Clergy rid Lords of the Universe, they grew wanton and insolent in their Power; and as they drained the Nations

Nations of their Wealth to support their own Grandure and Luxury, they degenerated into the worst and vilest set of Men that ever burdened the Earth. They were shamefully ignorant, and scandalously vicious; well versed in the most exquisite Arts of Torture and Cruelty, and absolutely divested of all Bowels of Mercy and Compassion towards those, who even in the smallest Matters differed from the Dictates of their Superstition and Impiety. The infamous Practices of that accursed Tribunal, the Inquisition, the Wars against Hereticks in the Earldom of *Tholouse*, the Massacres of *Paris* and *Ireland*, the many Sacrifices they have made in *Great-Britain*, the Fires they have kindled, and the Flames they have lighted up in all Nations, where their Power hath been acknowledged, witness against them, and demonstrate them to be very Monsters of Mankind. So that one would really wonder, that the whole World hath not entered into a Combination, and risen in Arms against so execrable a Set of Men, and extirpated them as savage Beasts, from the Face of the whole Earth; who, out of a Pretence of Religion, have defiled it with the Blood of innumerable Saints and Martyrs, and made use of the Name of the most holy Jesus, to countenance and sanctify the most abominable Impieties.

But as the Inquisition is their Master-piece of hellish Policy and Cruelty, I shall give a more particular Account of it in the following Book.



BOOK III.

Of PERSECUTIONS *under the PAPACY, and particularly of the INQUISITION.*

FOR several Ages the Method of Proceeding against Hereticks was committed to the Bishops, with whom the Government and Care of the Churches were entrusted, according to the received Decrees of the Church of *Rome*. But as their Number did not seem sufficient to the Court, or because they did not proceed with that Fury against Hereticks as the Popes would have them; therefore, that he might put a stop to the increasing Progress of Heresy, and effectually extinguish it, about the Year of our Lord 1200, he founded the Order of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. *Dominick* and his Followers were sent into the Country of *Tbolouse*, where he preached with great Vehemence against the Hereticks of those Parts; from whence his Order have obtain'd the Name of *Predicants*. Father *Francis*, with his Disciples, battled it with the Hereticks of *Italy*. They were both commanded by the Pope to excite the Catholick Princes and People to extirpate Hereticks, and in all Places to inquire out their Number and Quality; and also the Zeal of the Catholicks and Bishops in their Extirpation, and to transmit a faithful Account to *Rome*. Hence they are called *Inquisitors*.

Dominick being sent into the Country of *Tbolouse*, was confirmed in the Office of Inquisitor by the Papal Authority; after which, upon a certain Day, in the midst of a great Concourse of People, he declared openly in his Sermon, in the Church

of St. Prullian, that he was raised to a new Office by the Pope; adding, that he was resolved to defend, with his utmost Vigour, the Doctrines of the Faith; and that if the spiritual Arm was not sufficient for this End, 'twas his fixed Purpose to call in the Assistance of the secular one, and to excite and compel the Catholick Princes to take Arms against Hereticks, that the very Memory of them might be intirely destroyed. It evidently appears that he was a very bloody and cruel Man. He was born in Spain, in the Village of Calaroga, in the Diocese of Osma. His Mother, before she conceived him, dreamt that she was with Child of a Whelp, carrying in his Mouth a lighted Torch; and that after he was born, he put the World in an Uproar by his fierce Barkings, and set it on Fire by the Torch which he carried in his Mouth. His Followers interpret this Dream of his Doctrine, by which he enlightned the whole World; but others, with more Reason, think that the Torch was an Emblem of that Fire and Faggot, by which an infinite Number of Persons were consumed to Ashes.

S E C T. I.

Of the Progress of the INQUISITION.

Dominick being settled in the Country of Tholouse, sent a great Number of Persons, wearing Crosses, to destroy the *Albigenses* in those Parts; and caused the Friars of his Order to promise plenary Indulgences to all who would engage in the pious Work of murdering Hereticks. He also caused Raymond Earl of Tholouse to be excommunicated, as a Defender of Hereticks, and his Subjects to be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance. The Cross-bearers, being thus sent by Dominick,

M

filled

filled all Places with Slaughter and Blood, and burnt many whom they had taken Prisoners. In the Year 1209. *Biterre* was taken by them; and the Inhabitants, without any Regard of Age, were cruelly put to the Sword, and the City it self destroy'd by the Flames: And tho' there were several Catholicks in it, yet, lest any Hereticks should escape, *Arnold* Abbot of *Cisteaux* cried out, *Slay them all, for the Lord knows who are his*; upon which they were all slain, without Exception. *Carcassone* also was destroy'd, *Alby* and *La Vaur* taken by force; in which last Place they hanged *Aymerick* the Governor of the City, who was of a noble Family, beheaded eighty of lower Degree, and threw *Girarda*, *Aymerick's* Sister, into an open Pit, and covered her with Stones. Afterwards they conquered *Carcum*, where they murder'd sixty Men. They seized on *Villeneuve*, a large City near *Tholouse*, and burnt in it 400 *Albigenses*, and hanged 50 more. They also took *Castres de Termis*, and in it *Raymond* Lord of the Place, whom they put in Jail, where he died; and burnt in one large Fire his Wife, Sister, and Virgin Daughter, because they would not embrace the Faith of the Church of *Rome*. They also took *Avignon* by Treachery, and in despite of their Oaths plundered the City, and killed great Numbers of the Inhabitants; and at last forced the brave Earl to surrender *Tholouse* it self, and then stripp'd him of his Dominions, and would not absolve him from his Excommunication, without walking in Penance to the high Altar, in his Shirt and Breeches, and with naked Feet. Upon this Conquest and Destruction of the *Albigenses*, the Inquisition proceeded with Vigour, and was established by several Councils at *Tholouse* and *Narbonne*.

In the Year 1232. the Inquisition was brought into *Aragon*, and Pope *Gregory* gave Commission to the Archbishop of *Tarracone*, and his Suffragans, to proceed against all Persons infected with heretical Pravity ; and accordingly the Inquisition was there carried on with the greatest Rigour.

In 1251. Pope *Innocent IV.* created Inquisitors in *Italy* ; and the Office was committed to the *Friars Minors*, and *Predicants*. The *Friars Minors* were appointed in the City of *Rome* the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, *Tuscany*, the Dutchy of *Spolletto*, *Campania*, *Maretamo*, and *Romania*. To the *Predicants* he assigned *Lombardy*, *Romaniola*, the Marquisate of *Tarvesano*, and *Genoa* ; and gave them certain Articles to be prescribed to the Magistrates and People subject to their Jurisdiction, with Power to excommunicate all who refused to observe them ; and in Process of Time Tribunals of the Inquisition were erected in *Germany*, *Austria*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, *Ragusia*, and in all Places where the Power of the Pope could extend it self. Innumerable Cruelties were practised upon those whom the Judges condemned for Heresy : Some were burnt alive, others thrown into Rivers, tied Hand and Foot, and so drowned ; and others destroyed by different Methods of Barbarity.

Ferdinand and *Isabella* having united the several Kingdoms of *Spain* by their In-er-Marriage, introduced, in the Year 1478. the Inquisition into all their Kingdoms, with greater Pomp, Magnificence and Power, than it had ever yet appeared in. The *Jews* were the first who felt the Fury of it. A set Time was appointed by the Inquisitors for them to come in and make Confession of their Errors, in the Year 1481. Accordingly about 1700 of both Sexes appeared, who had their Lives

granted them. Many however refused to obey, and persisted in their Heresy. On this they were immediately seized; and thro' the Violence of their Torments great Numbers confessed their Crimes, and were thrown into the Fire; some acknowledging Christ, and others calling on the Name of *Moses*. Within a few Years, two Thousand of them of both Sexes were burnt. Others professing Repentance, were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and to wear Crosses. The Bones of others who were dead were taken out of their Graves, and burnt to Ashes; their Effects confiscated, and their Children deprived of their Honours and Offices. The *Jews* being terrified by this Cruelty fled, some into *Portugal*, others into *Italy* and *France*; and left all their Effects behind them, which were immediately seized on for the King's Use. At length, in 1494. to purge their Kingdoms intirely from *Jewish* Superstition, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* by a Law ordered them to depart all their Dominions within four Years; forbidding them ever to return to *Spain*, under the Punishment of immediate Death. Most Writers affirm that there were 170000 Families who departed: Others say there were 800000 Persons; a prodigious Number, almost exceeding Belief.

In the Year 1500. the Archbishop of *Toledo* took great Pains to convert the *Moors* of *Granada* to Christianity. He first of all gained over some of their chief Priests by Gifts and Favours. Others, who refused to become Christians, he put in Irons in Jail, and ordered them to be used with great Cruelty; and by these Methods gained many Converts. *Ferdinand* at last published an Edict against them, commanding them in general to become Christians, or depart his Dominions within a certain Day.

This

This Tribunal, first erected to discover *Jews* and *Moors*, soon began to proceed against *Hereticks*, and to exercise the same Cruelties against these as they had against the others. *Charles V.* King of *Spain*, who with great Difficulty had brought the Inquisition into the *Netherlands*, against the *Lutherans* and Reformed, recommended it to his Son *Philip* in his Will; and *Philip* gave full Proof of his Zeal to execute his Father's Commands. For when he was requested by many to grant Liberty of Religion in the *Low Countries*, he prostrated himself before a Crucifix, and uttered these Words: *I beseech the Divine Majesty, that I may always continue in this Mind; that I may never suffer my self to be, or to be called the Lord of those any where, who deny Thee the Lord.* Nor is this any Wonder: For the Popish Divines endeavour'd to persuade the Kings of *Spain* that the Inquisition was the only Security of their Kingdom. No one can wonder, that under this Persuasion, the *Spanish* Kings have been violent Promoters of the Inquisition; and that they have inflicted the most cruel Punishments upon the miserable *Hereticks*. *Philip II.* not only in the *Low Countries*, but also in *Spain*, shew'd himself the Patron of it; and that the most outrageous Cruelty was acceptable to him. He gave some horrid Specimens of it in the Year 1559. in two Cities of *Spain*, when he came thither from the *Low Countries*:

“ Immediately on his Arrival, as *Thuanus* relates, Vol. I.
 “ he began to chastise the Sectaries. And whereas lib. 23.
 “ before this, one or more, just as it happen'd, Ed. Buck
 “ were deliver'd to the Executioner, after Con-
 “ demnation for Heresy; all that were condemned
 “ throughout the whole Kingdom were kept
 “ against his Coming, and carried together to
 “ *Seville*, and *Valladolid*, where they were brought

“ forth in publick Pomp to their Punishment,
 “ The first Act of Faith was at *Seville*, the 8th
 “ of the Calends of *October*; in which *John Ponce*
 “ *de Leon*, Son of *Rboderick Ponce Comte de Baylen*,
 “ was led before the others, as in Triumph, and
 “ burnt for an obstinate heretical *Lutheran*. *John*
 “ *Consalvus*, a Preacher, as he had been his Com-
 “ panion in Life, was forced to bear him Com-
 “ pany in his Death; after whom followed *Isa-*
 “ *bella Venia*, *Maria Viroes*, *Cornelia*, and *Bobor-*
 “ *chés*; a Spectacle full of Pity and Indignation,
 “ which was increas’d, because *Boborchés*, the
 “ youngest of all of them, being scarce Twenty,
 “ suffer’d Death with the greatest Constancy.
 “ And because the heretical Assemblies had pray’d
 “ in the House of *Venia*, it was concluded in her
 “ Sentence, and order’d to be levelled with the
 “ Ground. After these came forth *Ferdinand San*
 “ *Juan*, and *Julian Hernandez*, commonly called
 “ the *Little*, from his small Stature, and *John* of
 “ *Leon*, who had been a Shoemaker at *Mexico* in
 “ *New Spain*, and was afterwards admitted into
 “ the College of *St. Isadore*; in which his Compa-
 “ nions studied, as they boasted, the purer Do-
 “ ctrine privately. Their Number was increas’d
 “ by *Frances Chaves*, a Nun of the Convent of
 “ *St. Elizabeth*, who had been instructed by *John*
 “ *Ægidius*, a Preacher at *Seville*, and suffer’d
 “ Death with great Constancy. From the same
 “ School came out *Christopher Losada*, a Physician,
 “ and *Christopher de Arellanio*, a Monk of *St. Isi-*
 “ *dore*, and *Garcias Arias*; who first kindled those
 “ Sparks of the same Religion amongst the Friars
 “ of *St. Isidore*, by his constant Admonitions and
 “ Sermons, by which the great Pile was after-
 “ wards set on Fire, and the Convent it self, and
 “ good Part of that most opulent City almost con-
 “ sumed,

“ fumed. He was a Man of uncommon Learning,
“ but of an inconstant, wavering Temper; and
“ being exceeding subtle in disputing, he refuted
“ the very Doctrines he had persuaded his Fol-
“ lowers to receive, tho’ he brought them into
“ Danger on that Account from the Inquisitors.
“ Having by these Arts exposed many, whom he
“ had deceived, to evident Hazard, and render’d
“ himself guilty of the detestable Crime of Breach
“ of Faith; he was admonished by *John Ægidius*,
“ *Constantine Ponce*, and *Varquius*, that he had not
“ dealt sincerely with his Friends, and those who
“ were in the same Sentiments with himself; to
“ which he replied, That he foresaw, that in a
“ little Time, they would be forc’d to behold the
“ Bulls brought forth for a lofty Spectacle; mean-
“ ing thereby the Theatre of the Inquisitors.
“ *Constantine* answer’d, You, if it please God,
“ shall not behold the Games from on high, but
“ be your self amongst the Combatants. Nor was
“ *Constantine* deceived in his Prediction: For af-
“ terwards *Arias* was called on; and whether Age
“ had made him bolder, or whether by a sudden
“ Alteration his Timorousness changed into Cou-
“ rage, he severely rebuked the Assessors of the
“ Inquisitory Tribunal; affirming they were
“ more fit for the vile Office of Mule Keepers,
“ than impudently to take upon themselves to
“ judge concerning the Faith, which they were
“ scandalously ignorant of. He farther declared,
“ That he bitterly repented that he had know-
“ ingly and willingly opposed, in their Presence,
“ that Truth he now maintained, against the
“ pious Defenders of it; and that from his Soul
“ he should repent of it whilst he liv’d. So at
“ last being led in Triumph, he was burnt alive,
“ and confirmed *Constantine’s* Prophecy. There
“ remained

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

“ remained *Ægidius* and *Constantine*, who closed
 “ the Scene; but Death prevented their being
 “ alive at the Shew. *Ægidius* having been de-
 “ signed by the Emperor, *Philip*’s Father, for
 “ Bishop of *Tortona*, upon the Fame of his Piety
 “ and Learning, being summoned, publicly re-
 “ canted his Errors, wrought on either by Craft,
 “ or the Persuasion of *Sotus*, a *Dominican*; and
 “ hereupon was suspended for a while from Preach-
 “ ing, and the sacred Office, and died some Time
 “ before this Act. The Inquisitors thought he
 “ had been too gently dealt with, and therefore
 “ proceeded against his Body, and condemned him
 “ dead to Death, and placed his Effigies in Straw
 “ on high for a Spectacle. *Constantine*, who had
 “ been a long while the Emperor’s Confessor, and
 “ had always accompanied him in his Retirement,
 “ after his Abdication from his Empire and King-
 “ doms, and was present with him at his Death,
 “ was brought before this Tribunal, and died a
 “ little before the Act, in a nasty Prison. But that
 “ the Theatre might not want him, his Effigies was
 “ carried about in a preaching Posture. And thus
 “ this Shew, terrible in it self, which drew Tears
 “ from most who were present, when these Images
 “ were brought on the Scene, excited Laughter in
 “ many, and at length Indignation. They pro-
 “ ceeded with the same Severity, the following
 “ *October*, at *Valladolid*, against others condemned
 “ for the same Crime; where King *Philip* himself
 “ being present, twenty-eight of the chief Nobility
 “ of the Country were tied to Stakes and burnt.”

Bartholomew Caranza, Archbishop of *Toledo*, was
 also accused; who for his Learning, Probity of
 Life, and most holy Conversation, was highly
 worthy of that Dignity. He was cast into Prison,
 and stripp’d of all his large Revenues. His Cause

was

was brought before *Pius V.* at *Rome*, and *Gregory XIII.* pronounced Sentence in it.

Philip, not content to exercise his Cruelty by Land, established the Inquisition also in the Ships. For in the Year 1571. a large Fleet was drawn together under the Command of *John of Austria*, and manned with Soldiers lifted out of various Nations. King *Philip*, to prevent any Corruption of the Faith, by such a Mixture of various Nations and Religions, after having consulted Pope *Pius V.* deputed one of the Inquisitors of *Spain*, fixed on by the Inquisitor General, to discharge the Office of Inquisitor; giving him Power to preside in all Tribunals, and to celebrate Acts of Faith, in all Places and Cities they sailed to. This Erection of the Inquisition by Sea, *Pius V.* confirmed by a Bull sent to the General Inquisitor of *Spain*, beginning, *Our late most dear Son in Christ.* *Jerome Manrique* exercised the Jurisdiction granted him, and held a publick Act of Faith in the City of *Messina*, in which many underwent divers Punishments.

He also established it beyond *Europe*, not only in the *Canary Islands*, but in the new World of *America*; constituting two Tribunals of it, one in the City of *Lima*, in the Province of *Peru*; the other in the Province and City of *Mexico*. The Inquisition at *Mexico* was erected in the Year 1571. and in a short Space gave large Proofs of its Cruelty. *Paramus* relates, that in the Year 1574. the third after its Erection, the first Act of Faith was celebrated with a new and admirable Pomp, in the *Marquisses Market-place*, where they built a large Theatre, which covered almost the whole *Area* of the Market-place, and was close to the great Church; where were present the Viceroy, the Senate, the Chapter, and the Religious. The Viceroy, the Senate, and a vast Number of others, went

went with a large Guard, in solemn Procession, to the Market-place, where were about eighty Penitents; and the Act lasted from six in the Morning to five in the Evening. Two Hereticks, one an *Englishman*, the other a *Frenchman*, were released. Some for Judaizing, some for Polygamy, and others for Sorceries, were reconciled. The Solemnity of this Act was such, that they who had seen that stately one at *Valladolid*, held in the Year 1559. declared, that this was nothing inferior to it in Majesty, excepting only that they wanted those royal Personages here, which were present there. From this Time they celebrated yearly solemn Acts of the Faith, where they brought *Portugueze Jews*, Persons guilty of incestuous and wicked Marriages, and many convicted of Sorcery and Witchcraft.

The Method of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, as now in Use in *Spain*, is this. The King proposes to the Pope the supreme Inquisitor of all his Kingdoms, whom the Pope confirms in his Office. The Inquisitor thus confirmed by the Pope, is Head and Chief of the Inquisition in the whole Kingdom, and hath given him by his Holiness full Power in all Cases relating to Heresy. It belongs to his Office to name particular Inquisitors, in every Place where there is any Tribunal of the Inquisition, who nevertheless cannot act unless approved by the King; to send Visitors to the Provinces of the Inquisitors, to grant Dispensations to Penitents and their Children, and to deliberate concerning other very weighty Affairs. In the Royal City the King appoints the supreme Council of the Inquisition, over which the supreme Inquisitor of the Kingdom presides. He hath joined with him five Counsellors, who have the Title of Apostolical Inquisitors, who are chose by the Inqui-

Inquisitor General upon the King's Nomination. One of these must always be a *Dominican*. The supreme Authority is in this Council of the Inquisition. They deliberate upon all Affairs with the Inquisitor General, determine the greater Cases, make new Laws according to the Exigency of Affairs, determine Differences amongst particular Inquisitors, punish the Offences of the Servants, receive Appeals from inferior Tribunals, and from them there is no Appeal but to the King. In other Tribunals there are two or three Inquisitors: They have particular Places assigned them, *Toledo, Cuenca, Valladolid, Calaborre, Seville, Cordoue, Granada, Ellereña*; and in the *Aragons, Valencia, Saragossa, and Barcelona*.

These are called Provincial Inquisitors. They cannot imprison any Priest, Knight, or Nobleman, nor hold any Publick Acts of Faith, without consulting the supreme Council of the Inquisition. Sometimes this supreme Council deputes one of their own Counsellors to them, in order to give the greater Solemnity to the Acts of Faith.

These Provincial Inquisitors give all of them an Account of their Provincial Tribunal once every Year to the supreme Council; and especially of the Causes that have been determined within that Year, and of the State and Number of their Prisoners in actual Custody. They give also every Month an Account of all Monies which they have received, either from the Revenues of the Holy Office, or pecuniary Punishments and Fines.

This Council meets every Day, except Holy-days, in the Palace-Royal, on *Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays* in the Morning; and on *Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays* after Vespers: In these three last Days two Counsellors of the supreme Council of *Castile* meet with them, who are also Coun-

Counsellors of the supreme Council of the Inquisition.

This Tribunal is now arisen to such an Height in *Spain*, that the King of *Castile*, before his Coronation, subjects himself and all his Dominions, by a special Oath, to the most holy Tribunal of this most severe Inquisition.

In the Year 1557. *John III.* King of *Portugal*, erected the Tribunal of the Inquisition in his Kingdom, after the Model of that in *Spain*. It was chiefly levelled against the *Jews*, who groan under the cruel Yoke of it to this Day, without any Mitigation of their Punishment, being liable to all the Penalties ordain'd against Hereticks. And because the *Jewish* Wickedness spread every Day more and more in the Parts of the *East Indies*, subject to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, Cardinal *Henry*, Inquisitor General in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, erected Anno 1560. the Tribunal of the Inquisition in the City of *Goa*, the Metropolis of that Province; where 'tis carried on at this Time with great Magnificence and Solemnity.

And that the Inquisition might proceed every where without any Impediment, Pope *Paul III.* An. 1542. deputed six Cardinals to be Inquisitors General of heretical Pravity, in all Christian Nations whatsoever; and gave them Authority to proceed without the Bishops against all Hereticks, and Persons suspected of Heresy, and their Accomplices and Abettors, of whatsoever State, Degree, Order, Condition and Preheminence; and to punish them, and confiscate their Goods; to degrade, and deliver over to the secular Court the secular and regular Clergy in holy Orders; and to do every Thing else that should be necessary in this Affair. *Pius IV.* enlarged their Power; and in 1564. gave them Authority to proceed against

against all manner of Persons, whether Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs or Cardinals, who were Hereticks, or suspected of Heresy. At length *Sixtus V. An. 1588.* appointed fifteen Congregations of the Cardinals, and assigned to each of them their proper Business. To these were added a Commissary, and an Assessor General. Whatever the Majority of these Cardinals agree, is looked on as the Decree of the whole Congregation. They meet twice a-Week; on *Wednesdays* in St. Mary's Church, *supra Minervam*; and on *Thursdays* in the Pope's Presence. In this Congregation his Holiness decides or confirms the Votes of the Counsellors and Cardinals, and makes a Prayer when the Congregation comes in.

S E C T. II.

Of the Officers belonging to the INQUISITION.

THESE are the Inquisitors; the Judge of the forfeited Effects, the Executor, the Notaries, the Jail-Keeper, the Messenger, the Door-Keeper, the Physician, the Assessors, the Counsellors, the Familiars, the Promotor Fiscal, the Receiver of the forfeited Effects, and the Visitors of the Inquisitors.

The Inquisitors are Persons delegated by the Pope to inquire concerning all Heresies, and to judge and punish Hereticks. Generally speaking, no one can be deputed to this Office who is not 40 Years old. But if a Person is remarkable for Knowledge and Prudence, he may in *Spain* and *Portugal* be created Inquisitor sooner. This Office is accounted of so great Dignity in the Church of *Rome*, that the Title of *most Reverend* is given to the Inquisitors as well as the Bishops.

Their

Their Privileges are many and great. They can excommunicate, suspend, and interdict. None excommunicated by them can be absolved, without command of the Pope, except in the Article of Death. They may apprehend Hereticks, tho' they take Sanctuary in Churches; and make Statutes, and increase the Punishments against them. They can grant Indulgences of twenty or forty Days, and give full Pardon of Sins to all their Officers who died in their Service; and have themselves granted a plenary Indulgence in Life and Death. Whosoever shall damage the Effects of the Inquisitor, or his Officer, or shall kill, strike, or beat any one of them, is to be immediately deliver'd over to the secular Court. They are freed from serving of all Offices. They are to have Lodgings, Provisions, and other Necessaries provided for them. They may proceed against all Persons whatsoever, few excepted; against Bishops, Priests, and Friars; and all Laicks whatsoever, even Princes and Kings. They may cite Persons of any Sex or Condition for Witnesses; a famous Instance of which there is in *Joan*, Daughter of the Emperor *Charles V.* whom they cited before their Tribunal to interrogate her concerning a certain Person, in some Matters relating to the Faith. The Emperor himself had such an Awe of them, that he commanded his Daughter without delay to make her Deposition, to avoid the Sentence of Excommunication. Upon which she actually appeared before the Archbishop of *Seville*, Inquisitor General, and gave in her Evidence. In *Spain* also the Inquisitors pretend to have a Jurisdiction over the Subjects of other Kings. Of this we have an Instance in *Thomas Maynard*, Consul of the *English* Nation at *Lisbon*, who was thrown into the Prison of the Inquisition,

under

under pretence that he had said or done something against the *Roman* Religion. *M. Meadows*, who was then Resident, and took Care of the *English* Affairs at *Lisbon*, advised *Cromwel* of the Affair; and after having received an Express from him, went to the King of *Portugal*, and in the Name of *Cromwel* demanded the Liberty of Consul *Maynard*. The King told him, 'twas not in his Power; that the Consul was detained by the Inquisition, over which he had no Authority. The Resident sent this Answer to *Cromwel*; and having soon after received new Instructions from him, had again Audience of the King, and told him, That since his Majesty had declared he had no Power over the Inquisition, he was commanded by *Cromwel* immediately to declare War against it. This unexpected Declaration so terrified the King and the Inquisition, that they immediately determined to free the Consul from Prison; and immediately opened the Prison Doors, and gave him Leave to go out. The Consul refused to accept a private Dismission; but in order to repair the Honour of his Character, demanded to be honourably brought forth by the Inquisition. The same *Maynard* continu'd many Years after under the same Character, in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* and liv'd at *Lisbon* till he was about eighty Years old, without any Molestation from the Inquisition. This Story was well known to all foreign Merchants, who lived at that Time, and many Years after at *Lisbon*.

The Inquisitors may also compel the Governors of Cities to swear that they will defend the Church against Hereticks; and to extirpate with all their Power, from their Governments, all who are noted for Hereticks by the Church. They may also command all secular Magistrates to seize and keep in

in Custody all Hereticks, and to carry them where-soever they order. And for the better apprehending of Hereticks, the Inquisitors may go with an armed Attendance, and bear Arms themselves. They may compel Witnesses to give Evidence by Fines, Pledges, Excommunication, or Torture. They have also Power to excommunicate all Lay Persons disputing about the Faith, publicly or privately; and those who do not discover Hereticks, by themselves or other Persons. And finally, they may condemn and prohibit all heretical Books, and suspected of Heresy, or containing Propositions erroneous, or differing from the Catholick Faith.

If the Inquisitors are negligent or remiss in their Office, they are prohibited from entering the Church for four Years; or if they offend by unjustly extorting Money, they are punished by the Prelates of their Order; but in such a Manner, however, as not to lessen Mens Opinion of the Dignity and Authority of the Holy Office. From this Precaution 'tis however very plain, that the Tribunal of the Inquisition is not so very holy and blameless, as they would have them believe in *Spain* and *Portugal*; but that the Inquisitors punish innocent Men sometimes very unjustly, throwing them into Prison, and treating them in a very barbarous and unworthy Manner. Of this we have a fresh Instance in the Inquisition at *Goa*, in relation to Father *Ephraim*, a *Capucine*; whom, out of mere Hatred and Revenge, they seized by Craft and Subtlety, and carried away to *Goa*, and there shut him up in the Prison of the Inquisition. The Story is this: Father *Ephraim* having had an Invitation from some *English* Merchants, built a Church in the City of *Madrespatan*, which was near to the City of *St. Thomas*. To this Place
several

several of the *Portuguese* came from *St. Thomas's*, to have the Benefit of *Ephraim's* Instruction. By this he incurred the Hatred of the *Portuguese*; and upon some Disturbance that was raised, Father *Ephraim* was called to *St. Thomas* to appease it; where he was seized by the Officers of the Inquisition, and carried to *Goa*, bound Hands and Feet, and at Night coming from on Board the Ship, hurried into the Prison of the Inquisition. All Men wondered that this *Capucine* should be brought Prisoner before the Tribunal of the Inquisition as an Heretick, who was known to be a Person of great Probity and Zeal for the *Roman* Religion. Many were concerned for his Delivery; and especially Friar *Zenon*, of the same Order, who tried every Method to effect it. When the News of his Imprisonment came to *Europe*, Persons were very differently affected. His Brother, the Lord *Chateau des Bois*, solicited the *Portugal* Ambassador at *Paris*, till he prevailed with him to send Letters to his *Portuguese* Majesty, to desire his peremptory Orders to the Inquisitors at *Goa*, to dismiss *Ephraim* from his Prison. The Pope also himself sent Letters to *Goa*, commanding him to be set free, under the Penalty of Excommunication. The King also of *Golconda*, who had a Friendship for him, because he had given him some Knowledge of the Mathematicks, commanded the City of *St. Thomas* to be besieged, and to be put to Fire and Sword, unless *Ephraim* was immediately restored to his Liberty. The Inquisitors not being able to surmount all these Difficulties, sent him word that the Prison-Gates were open, and that he might have his Liberty when he pleased. But he would not leave his Jail, till he was brought out by a solemn Procession of the Ecclesiasticks of *Goa*. And although there are many Instances of the like

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Injustice,

Injustice, yet they very seldom publicly punish the Injustice and Cruelty of the Inquisitors, lest their Authority, which they would have always accounted sacred, should be contemned.

The Inquisitor may also appoint a Vicar General over his whole Province, with a Power of proceeding to a definitive Sentence on the Impenitent and Relapsed, and of receiving Informations and Accusations against any Persons, and of citing, arresting, and putting in Irons Witnesses and Criminals, and of putting them to the Question or Torture; and, in general, of doing every Thing which the Inquisitor himself, if present, could do.

The Counsellors or Assessors of the Inquisition are skilful Persons, such as Divines, Canonists, and Layers, whom the Inquisitors call in, in difficult Cases, to assist them with their Advice. When any Questions happen in the Trials of the Causes of Heresy, relating to the Quality, *i. e.* the Nature and Degree of Guilt in any Propositions spoken by Hereticks, or Persons suspected of Heresy, the Decision in such Affairs belongs to the Divines, who are thence called *Qualificators*; who are to determine whether it be heretical, or favours of Heresy, or erroneous, or such as offends pious Ears, or rash, or scandalous, or schismatical, or seditious, or blasphemous, or injurious. The Layers are consulted about the Punishment or Absolution of Offenders, and other the like Merits of Causes. However, the Inquisitors are not bound necessarily to follow the Advice of these Counsellors; but after they have heard their Opinions, are free to determine and act what they think proper. These Counsellors are sworn to Secrecy, and are not acquainted with the Names of the Criminals or Witnesses.

The

The Promotor Fiscal is that Officer of the Inquisition, who acts the Part of the Accuser. It belongs to him to examine the Depositions of the Witnesses, and give Information of Criminals to the Inquisitors; to demand their Apprehension and Imprisonment, and when apprehended or admonished, to accuse them.

The Notaries, Registers, or Secretaries of the Inquisition, write down the Injunctions, Accusations, and all the Pleadings of the Causes; the Depositions of the Witnesses, and Answers of the Criminals; and whether the Colour of their Face changes; whether they tremble or hesitate in speaking, whether they frequently interrupt the Interrogatories by hawking or spitting, or whether their Voice trembles; that by these Circumstances they may know when to put the Criminals to the Torture. These Notaries may be chosen either of the Laity, or from the Monks and Clergy. They swear them faithfully to execute that Office, and to keep the strictest Secrecy.

The Judge and Receiver of the forfeited Effects, is the Attorney belonging to the Treasury of the Inquisition; who demands, defends, and sells the confiscated Goods of Hereticks, and pays the Salaries, and other Expences of the holy Office.

The Executors are they who execute and perform the Commands of the Inquisitors. They apprehend and keep in Custody Criminals, and pursue them in any Places to which they may have escaped; and may, when needful, put them in Irons. All Persons, whether Magistrates or others, are obliged to assist them, when they are endeavouring to apprehend any Person, or seize his Effects, upon Penalty of a large Fine, and being put under the Ban,

The Familiars are the Bayliffs of the Inquisition, which, though a vile Office in all other criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the Inquisition, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom of *Portugal* who is not in it; and these are commonly employ'd by the Inquisitors to take Persons up. If several Persons are to be taken up at the same Time, the Familiars must so order Things, that they may know nothing of each other's being apprehended. And at this the Familiars are so expert, that a Father and his three Sons, and three Daughters, who lived together at the same House, were all carried Prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there till seven Years afterwards, when they of them who were alive, came forth in an Act of Faith.

There is a particular kind of these Familiars, who wear Crosses, instituted by *Dominick*; who vow upon Oath, before the Inquisitors, that they will defend the Catholick Faith, tho' with the Loss of Fortune and Life. The Inquisitors give them red Crosses, which they have blessed, and may compel them to perform their Vow.

The Visitor of the Inquisition is one who goes into all the Provinces where the Inquisitors are, and reports to the Inquisitor General and Council whatever he thinks proper to be amended; and whether the several Inquisitors have observed the several Orders and Rules prescribed to them, that in case of any Offences, they may be duly punished.

The civil Magistrate is under great Subjection to these Inquisitors, and their Officers. He swears to defend the Catholick Faith, and to cause all the Constitutions relating to the Inquisition to be observed; and that he will study to exterminate

nate all Persons mark'd out for Hereticks by the Church. And if any temporal Lord shall, after Admonition by the Church, neglect to purge his Dominions from heretical Pravity, for the space of a Year after such Admonition, his Country is ordered to be seized, and the Person seizing it allowed to possess it without Contradiction. When any Persons are condemned for Heresy by the Inquisitors, the civil Magistrate is obliged to receive them as soon as delivered to him, and to punish them with the deserved Punishment; without presuming directly or indirectly to hinder any Judgment, Sentence, or Process of the Inquisitors.

The Office of the Jail-Keepers is not to be described; tho' some Account of their Jail will not be amiss.

All Criminals have not alike Places of Imprisonment, their Cells being either more terrible and dark, or more easy and chearful, according to the Quality of the Persons and their Offences. In reality, there is no Place in the Prison of the Inquisition that can be called pleasant or chearful, the whole Jail is so horrible and nasty.

These Jails are called in *Spain* and *Portugal* *Santa Casa*, i. e. the holy House. Every Thing it seems in this Office must be holy. The Prisons are so built, as the Author of the History of the Inquisition at *Goa* describes them, that they will hold a great Number of Persons. They consist of several Porticoes; every one of which is divided into several small Cells of a square Form, each Side being about ten Feet. There are two Rows of them, one being built over the other, and all of them vaulted. The upper ones are enlightned by Iron Grates, placed above the Height of a tall Man. The lower ones are under Ground,

dark, without any Window, and narrower than the upper ones. The Walls are five Feet thick. Each Cell is fastned with two Doors; the inner one thick, and covered over with Iron, and in the lower Part of it there is an Iron Grate. In the upper Part of it is a little small Window, through which they reach to the Prisoner his Meat, Linnen, and other Necessaries, which is shut with two Iron Bolts. The outer Door is entire, without any opening at all. They generally open it in the Morning, from six a-Clock till eleven, in order to refresh the Air of the Prison.

In *Portugal* all the Prisoners, Men and Women, without any Regard to Birth or Dignity, are shaved the first or second Day of their Imprisonment. Every Prisoner hath two Pots of Water every Day, one to wash, and the other to drink; and a Besom to cleanse his Cell, and a Mat made of Rushes to lie upon, and a larger Vessel to ease Nature, with a Cover to put over it, which is changed once every four Days. The Provisions which are given to the Prisoners, are rated according to the Season, and the Dearness or Plenty of Eatables. But if any rich Person is imprisoned, and will live and eat beyond the ordinary Rate of Provisions, and according to his own Manner, he may be indulged, and have what is decent and fit for him, and his Servant, or Servants, if he hath any with him in the Jail. If there are any Provisions left, the Jail-Keeper, and no other, must take them, and give them to the Poor. But *Reginald Gonsalvius* observes, p. 106. that this Indulgence is not allowed to Prisoners of all sorts, but to such only as are taken up for small Offences, who are to be condemned to a Fine. But if they find by the very Accusation that any Persons are
to

to be punished with Forfeiture of all their Effects; they do not suffer them to live so plentifully, but order them a small Pension for their Subsistence, viz. about thirty Maravedis, of the Value of ten Dutch Stivers. This agrees with the Account of *Isaack Orobio*, who had a plentiful Fortune at *Seville*, and was nevertheless used very hardly in the Prison of the Inquisition there. Although his Estate was very large, yet he was allowed a very small Pension to provide himself Provision. This was Flesh, which they made him sometimes dress and prepare for himself, without allowing him the Help of any Servant. In this Manner are the richer Prisoners treated. As to the poorer, and such who have not enough to supply themselves in Jail, their Allowance is fixed by the King, viz. the Half of a silver Piece of Money, called a Real *, every Day; and out of this small Sum, the Buyer of their Provision, whom they call the Dispenser, and their Washer, must be paid, and all other Expences that are necessary for the common Supports of Life. Besides, this very royal Allowance for the Prisoners doth not come to them but through the Hands of several Persons, and those none of the most honest; first by the Receiver, then the Dispenser, then the Cook, then the Jail-Keeper, who, according to his Office, distributes the Provisions amongst the Prisoners. *Gonsalvus* adds, that he gave this particular Account of this Matter, because all these Persons live, and have their certain Profits out of this small Allowance of the King to the Prisoners; which coming to them through the crooked Hands of

* Dr. *Geddes* tells us of one in the Inquisition at *Lisbon*, who was allowed no more than three Vintems a Day; a Vintem is about an *English* Penny Farthing.

these Harpies, they cannot receive it till every one of them hath taken out more than a tenth Part of it.

The Author of the History of the Inquisition at *Goa* tells us, this Order is observed in distributing the Provisions. The Prisoners have Meat given them three times every Day; and even those who have the Misfortune to be in this Case, tho' they have Money, are not treated much better than others, because their Riches are employ'd to make Provision for the Poorer. I was informed by *Isaack Orobio*, that in *Spain* they sometimes give the Prisoners Coals, which they must light, and then dress their own Food. Sometimes they allow them a Candle. Those who are confined in the lower Cells generally sit in Darkeness, and are sometimes kept there for several Years, without any one's being suffered to go or speak to them, except their Keepers; and they only at certain Hours, when they give them their Provision. They are not allowed any Books of Devotion, but are shut up in Darkeness and Solitude, that they may be broke with the Horrors of so dreadful a Confinement, and by the Miseries of it forced to confess Things which oftentimes they have never done.

p. 119.

And how dreadful the Miseries of this Prison are, we have a famous Instance given us by *Reginald Gonsalvius Montanus*. In the Age before the last, a certain *English* Ship put in at the Port of *Cadiz*, which the Familiars of the Inquisition, according to Custom, searched upon the Account of Religion, before they suffered any Person to come ashore. They seized on several *English* Persons who were on board, observing in them certain Marks of evangelical Piety, and of their having received the best Instruction, and threw them

them into Jail. In that Ship there was a Child, ten or twelve Years, at most, old, the Son of a very rich *English* Gentleman, to whom, as was reported, the Ship and principal Part of her Loading belonged. Amongst others, they took up also this Child. The Pretence was, that he had in his Hands the Psalms of *David* in *English*. But, as *Gonsalvius* tells us, those who knew their Avarice and cursed Arts, may well believe, without doing any Injury to the Holy Inquisition, that they had got the Scent of his Father's Wealth, and that this was the true Cause of the Child's Imprisonment, and of all that Calamity that followed after it. However, the Ship with all its Cargo was confiscated; and the Child, with the other Prisoners, were carried to the Jail of the Inquisition at *Seville*, where he lay six or eight Months. Being kept in so strait Confinement for so long a while, the Child, who had been brought up tenderly at home, fell into a very dangerous Illness, through the Dampness of the Prison, and the Badness of his Diet. When the Lords Inquisitors were informed of this, they ordered him to be taken out of the Jail, and carried, for the Recovery of his Health, to the Hospital, which they call the *Cardinal*. Here they generally bring all who happen to fall ill in the Prison of the Inquisition; where, besides the Medicines, of which, according to the pious Institution of the Hospital, there is Plenty, and a little better Care, upon account of the Distemper, nothing is abated of the Severity of the former Jail; no Person besides the Physician, and the Servants of the Hospital, being allowed to visit the sick Person; and as soon as ever he begins to grow better, before he is fully recovered, he is put again into his former Jail. The Child, who had contracted a very
grievous

grievous Illness from that long and barbarous Confinement, was carried into the Hospital, where he lost the Use of both his Legs; nor was it ever known what became of him afterwards. In the mean while, 'twas wonderful, that the Child, in so tender an Age, gave noble Proofs how firmly the Doctrine of Piety was rooted in his Mind; oftentimes, but especially Morning and Evening, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and praying to him, from whom he had been instructed by his Parents, to desire and hope for certain Help; which the Jail-Keeper having often observed, said, He was already grown a great little Heretick.

p. 121.

About the same Time a certain Person was taken up and thrown into the same Jail, who had voluntarily abjured the *Mahometan* Impiety, and came but a little before from *Morocco*, a famous City of *Mauritania*, and Capital of the Kingdom, into that Part of *Spain* which lies directly over against it, with a Design to turn Christian. When he had observed that the Christians were more vicious and corrupt than the *Moors* he had left, he happened to say, that the *Mahometan* Law seem'd to him better than the Christian. For this the good Fathers of the Faith laid hold of him, thrust him into Jail, and used him so cruelly, that he said publicly, even when in Confinement, that he never repented of his Christianity, from the Day he was baptized, till after his having been in the Inquisition, where he was forced against his Will to behold all manner of Violences and Injuries whatsoever.

p. 104.

The Complaint of *Constantine*, the Preacher of *Seville*, was not less grievous concerning the Barbarities of this Prison; who, although he had not as yet tasted of the Tortures, yet often bewailed his

his Misery in this Jail, and cried out: *O my God, were there no Scythians in the World, no Cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose Hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might but escape the Paws of these Wretches?* Olmedus also, another Person famous for Piety and Learning, fell into the Inquisitors Hands at *Seville*; and thro' the Inhumanity of his Treatment, which had also proved fatal to *Constantine*, contracted a grievous Illness, and at last died in the midst of the Nastiness and Stench. He was used to say, *Throw me any where, O my God, so that I may but escape the Hands of these Wretches.*

The Author of the History of *Goa* agrees in this Account, who frankly owns, that through the Cruelty and Length of his Imprisonment he fell into Despair, and thereby often attempted to destroy himself; first by starving himself; and because that did not succeed, he feigned himself sick; and when the Physician of the Inquisition found his Pulse unequal, and that he was feverish, he ordered him to be let Blood, which was done again five Days after. When the Doctor was gone, he unbound his Arm every Day, that so by the large Effusion of Blood, he might continually grow weaker and weaker. In the mean while he eat very little, that by Hunger, and Loss of Blood, he might put an End to his miserable Life. Whilst he was in this sad Condition, he had sent him a Confessor of the *Franciscan* Order, who, by various Arguments of Comfort, endeavoured to recover him from his Despair. They also gave him a Companion in his Jail, which was some Comfort to him in his Confinement. But growing well again after about five Months, they took his Companion from him. The Lonesomeness of his Jail brought on again his Melancholy
and

and Despair, which made him invent another Method to destroy himself. He had a Piece of Gold Money, which he had concealed in his Clothes, which he broke into two Parts; and making it sharp, he opened with it a Vein in each Arm, and lost so much Blood, that he fell into a Swoon, the Blood running about the Jail. But some of the Servants happening to come before the usual Time to bring him something, found him in this Condition. The Inquisitor hereupon ordered him to be loaded with Irons upon his Arms and Hands, and strictly watched. This Cruelty provoked him to that Degree, that he endeavoured to beat his Brains out against the Pavement and the Walls; and undoubtedly the Ligaments upon his Arms would have been torn off, had he continued any longer in that State. Upon this they took off his Chains, gave him good Words, encouraged him, and sent him a Companion, by whose Conversation he was refreshed, and bore his Misery with a little more Easiness of Mind. But after two Months they took him from him again, so that the Solitude of his Jail was more distressing to him than before.

Inquis.
Goan.
cap. 13.

The Prisoners, as soon as ever they are thrown into Jail, are commanded to give an Account of their Name and Business. Then they inquire after their Wealth; and to induce them to give in an exact Account, the Inquisition promises them, that if they are innocent, all that they discover to them shall be faithfully kept for, and restored to them; but that if they conceal any Thing, it shall be confiscated, though they should be found not guilty. And as in *Spain* and *Portugal* most Persons are fully persuaded of the Sanctity and Sincerity of this Tribunal, they willingly discover all their Possessions, even the most
concealed





The table of the Inquisition.

concealed Things of their Houses, being certainly persuaded, that when their Innocence shall appear, they shall soon recover their Liberty and Effects together. But these miserable Creatures are deceived; for he that once falls into the Hands of these Judges, is stripped at once of all he was possessed of. For if any one denies his Crime, and is convicted by a sufficient Number of Witnesses, he is condemned as a negative Convict, and all his Effects confiscated. If to escape the Jail he confesses his Crime, he is guilty by his own Confession, and in the Judgment of all justly stripped of his Effects. When he is dismissed from Prison as a Convert and Penitent, he dares not defend his Innocence, unless he desires to be thrown again into Jail, and condemned; and, as a feigned Penitent, to be delivered over to the secular Arm.

When the Prisoner is brought before his Judge, ^{Inquis.} he appears with his Head and Arms, and Feet ^{Goan.} naked. In this Condition he is brought out of ^{cap. 18.} Jail by the Warder. When he comes to the Room of Audience, the Warder goes a little forward, and makes a profound Reverence, then withdraws, and the Prisoner enters by himself. At the farther End of the Audience Room there is placed a Crucifix, that reaches almost to the Cieling. In the Middle of the Hall is a Table about five Feet long, and four broad, with Seats all placed round it. At one End of the Table, that which is next to the Crucifix, sits the Notary of the Inquisition; at the other End the Inquisitor, and at his left Hand the Prisoner sitting upon a Bench. Upon the Table is a Missale, upon which the Prisoner is commanded to lay his Hand, and to swear that he will speak the Truth, and keep every Thing secret. After they have
suffi-

sufficiently interrogated him, the Inquisitors ring a Bell for the Warder, who is commanded to carry back his Prisoner to Jail.

No one in the Prison must so much as mutter, or make any Noise, but must keep profound Silence. If any one bemoans himself, or bewails his Misfortune, or prays to God with an audible Voice, or sings a Psalm or sacred Hymn, the Jail-Keepers, who continually watch in the Porches, and can hear even the least Sound, immediately come to him, and admonish him that Silence must be preserved in this House. If the Prisoner doth not obey, the Keepers admonish him again. If after this the Prisoner persists, the Keeper opens the Door, and prevents his Noise, by severely beating him with a Stick; not only to chastise him, but to deter others, who, because the Cells are contiguous, and deep Silence is kept, can very easily hear the Outcries and Sound of the Blows. I will add here a short Story that I had from several Persons; which, if true, shews us with what Severity they keep this Silence. A Prisoner in the Inquisition coughed. The Jailors came to him, and admonished him to forbear coughing, because it was unlawful to make any Noise in that House. He answered, 'twas not in his Power. However, they admonished him a second Time to forbear it; and because he did not, they stripped him naked, and cruelly beat him. This increased his Cough; for which they beat him so often, that at last he died thro' the Pain and Anguish of the Stripes.

Calv.

7. They insist so severely on keeping this Silence, that they may cut off every Degree of Comfort from the Afflicted; and especially for this Reason, that the Prisoners may not know one another, either by Singing, or any loud Voice. For it often

oftentimes happens, that after two or three Years Confinement in the Jail of the Inquisition, a Man doth not know that his Friend, nor a Father that his Children and Wife are in the same Prison, till they all see each other in the Act of Faith. And finally, that the Prisoners in the several Cells may not talk with one another; which, if ever found out, their Cells are immediately changed.

If any one falls ill in the Prison, they send to him a Surgeon and Physician, who administer all proper Remedies to him to recover him to Health. If there be any danger of his dying, they send him a Confessor, if he desires it. If the Criminal doth not ask for a Confessor, and the Physician believes the Distemper to be dangerous, he must be persuaded by all Means to confess; and if he judicially satisfies the Inquisitors, he is to be reconciled to the Church before he dies; and being absolved in Judgment, the Confessor must absolve him Sacramentally.

If he is well, and desires a Confessor, some are of Opinion he may not have one granted him, unless he hath confessed judicially. Others think he may; and in this Case the Confessor's Business is to exhort him to confess his Errors, and to declare the whole Truth, as well of himself as of others, as he is bound *de jure* to do. However, he must add, that he must not accuse himself or others falsely, through Weariness of his Imprisonment, the Hope of a more speedy Deliverance, or Fear of Torments. Such a Criminal the Confessor cannot absolve, before his Excommunication is first taken off, and he is reconciled to the Church. But in *Italy* the Prisoners are more easily allowed a Confessor than in *Spain*.

They are particularly careful not to put two or more in the same Cell, unless the Inquisitor
for

for any special Reason shall so order, that they may not concert with one another to conceal the Truth, to make their Escape, or to evade their Interrogatories. The principal Reason indeed seems to be, that through the Irksomeness of their Imprisonment, they may confess whatsoever the Inquisitors would have them. But if an Husband and his Wife are both imprisoned for the same Offence, and there be no fear that one should prevent the other from making a free Confession of the Crime, they may be put in the same Cell.

Gonsalv.
p. 125.

The Inquisitors are obliged to visit the Prisoners twice every Month, and to enquire whether they have Necessaries allowed them, and whether they are well or not. In this Visit they usually ask him in these very Words; How he is? How he hath his Health? Whether he wants any Thing? Whether his Warder is civil to him? *i. e.* Whether he speaks to him in a reproachful and severe Manner? Whether he gives him his appointed Provision, and clean Linnen? and the like. These are exactly the Sentences and Words they use in these Visits, to which they neither add any Thing, nor act agreeable; for they use them only for Form's sake, and when the Inquisitor hath spoken them he immediately goes away, scarce staying for an Answer. And although any one of the Prisoners complains that he is not well used, 'tis of no Advantage to him, nor is he better treated for the future. If there be Occasion or Necessity, it will be convenient for them to visit the Prisoners three or four times every Month, yea, as often as they think proper; *viz.* when the Criminal bears with Impatience the Misfortune and Infamy of his Imprisonment, in such Case the Inquisitor must endeavour to comfort him

Inquis.
Goan.
c. 12.

him very often, not only by himself, but by others; and to tell him, that if he makes a free Confession, his whole Affair shall be quickly and kindly ended.

The Inquisitors must take Care not to talk with the Criminals, when they are examined or visited, upon any other Affairs but such as relate to their Business. Nor must the Inquisitor be alone when he visits, or otherwise gives them Audience; but must have with him his Colleague, or at least a Notary, or some other faithful Servant of the Holy Office.

This also they are particularly careful of, that the Criminals may not be removed from one Cell to another, nor associate with any other. If any Prisoners have been shut up together at once in the same Cell, when they are removed they must be removed together, that hereby they may be prevented from communicating any Thing that hath been transacted in the Prison. This is more especially to be observed, in case any of them recall their Confession, after they have been removed from one Cell and Company to another. But if a Criminal confesses, and is truly converted, he may more easily be removed from one Cell to another, because the Inquisitor is in no Pain for fear of his retracting, but may oftentimes make use of him to draw out the Truth from other Prisoners.

If Women are imprisoned, they must each of them have, according to their Quality, one honest Woman at least for a Companion, who must never be absent from her, to prevent all Suspicion of Evil. This Companion must be antient, of a good Life, pious and faithful. Sometimes when Women are to be imprisoned, they do not carry them to the Jail of the Inquisitors, especially

if they are Regulars, if the Jails be within the Walls of the Monasteries, but to the Convents of the Nuns. When this happens, they command the Abbess or Prioress to admit no body to discourse with the Prisoner without express Leave of the Inquisitor, but diligently to observe the Order given her. But when the Cause is of Importance, and full of Danger, and such they esteem all that relate to the Faith, they think it safer that Women should be imprisoned in the Jails of the Inquisitors. But the Cardinals Inquisitors General are to be consulted in this Affair, who, after mature Consideration, are to determine whether it be most expedient that such Criminals should be kept in the Jails of the Bishops, or Inquisitors Regulars; especially if they are young and handsome, as is often the Case of those who are taken up for telling Peoples Fortunes about their Sweethearts.

'Tis farther the Custom and received Use of this holy Tribunal, that such who are imprisoned for Heresy are not admitted to hear Mass, and other Prayers which are said within the Jail, till their Cause is determined. Their principal Pretence for this Custom is, that it may possibly happen, when there is a great Number of Criminals, that the several Accomplices, Companions and Partakers of the Crime, may at least by Nods and Signs discover to one another how they may escape Judgment, or conceal the Truth.

But the true and genuine Reason is, that the Prisoner may have nothing to contemplate besides his present Misfortune; that so being broken, with the Miseries of his Confinement, he may confess whatsoever the Inquisitors would have him. For this Reason they deny them Books, and all other

other Things that would be any Relief to them in their tedious Imprisonment. If any one of the Prisoners whatsoever prays the Inquisitor when he visits him, that he may have some good Book, or the Holy Bible, he is answered, that the true Book is to discover the Truth, and to exonerate his Conscience before that holy Tribunal; and that this is the Book which he must diligently study, *viz.* to recover the Remembrance of every Thing faithfully, and declare it to their Lordships, who will immediately prescribe a Remedy to his languishing Soul. If the Prisoner in the same or next Visit is importunate about it, he will be commanded Silence; because if he asks to please himself, they may grant or deny him according to their Pleasure.

The keeping the Jail anciently belonged to the Executors Office; and as often as he was absent, he was obliged to provide another Keeper at his own Charge. But now the Jail-Keeper is created by the Inquisitor General, and is different from the Executor.

Those who keep the Jails for the Crime of Heresy, must swear before the Bishop and Inquisitor that they will faithfully keep their Prisoners, and observe all other Things prescribed them.

Formerly there were two Keepers to every Jail, but now there is only one Jail-Keeper appointed in every Province, chosen by the Inquisitor General, who is not allowed to give the Prisoners their Food. But the Inquisitors chuse some proper Person to this Office, who is commonly called the Dispenser. The Provisions they give the Criminals are generally prepared and dressed in the House of the Inquisition; because if they were to be prepared in the Houses of the Criminals

minals themselves, or any where else, something might easily be hid under them, that might furnish them with the Means to conceal the Truth, or to elude or escape Judgment. This however is to be left to the Prudence and Pleasure of the Inquisitors, whether and when the Criminals may without Danger prepare their Provision in their own Houses. But upon account of the Hazard attending it, the Inquisitors but seldom, and not without exquisite Care, gratify them in this Particular. If any Things are sent them by their Friends or Relations, or Domesticks, the Jail-Keeper and Dispenser never suffer them to have them, without first consulting the Inquisitors.

As these Keepers have it in their Power greatly to injure or serve their Prisoners, they must promise by an Oath, before the Bishop and Inquisitors, that they will exercise a faithful Care and Concern in keeping them; and that neither of them will speak to any of them but in presence of the other, and that they will not defraud them of their Provision, nor of those Things which are brought to them. Their Servants also are obliged to take this Oath.

But notwithstanding this Law, a great Part of the Provision appointed for the Prisoners is withheld from them by their covetous Keepers; and if they are accused for this to the Inquisitors, they are much more gently punished, than if they had used any Mercy towards them. *Reginald Gonsalve* relates, that in his Time *Gaspar Bennavidius* was Keeper of a Jail. “ He was a Man of monstrous
 “ Covetousness and Cruelty, who defrauded his
 “ miserable Prisoners of a great Part of their
 “ Provisions, which were ill dressed, and scarce
 “ the tenth Part of what was allowed them, and
 “ sold it secretly, for no great Price, at the *Triana*.
 “ Besides,

“ Besides, he wholly kept from them the little
“ Money allowed them to pay for the washing
“ of their Linnen; thus suffering them to abide
“ many Days together in a nasty Condition, de-
“ ceiving the Inquisitor and Treasurer, who put
“ that Money to the Keepers Account, as though
“ it had been expended every Week for the Use
“ of the Prisoners, for whom it was appointed.
“ Neither was it very difficult to deceive them,
“ because they took but little Pains to inquire
“ out the Truth. If any one of the Prisoners
“ complained, muttered, or opened his Mouth
“ upon account of this intolerable Usage, the
“ cruel Wretch, who had divested himself of all
“ Humanity, had a Remedy at hand. He
“ brought the Prisoner immediately out of his
“ Apartment, and put him down into a Place
“ they call *Mazmorra*, a deep Cistern that had
“ no Water in it. There he left him for several
“ Days together, without any Thing to lie on,
“ not so much as Straw. His Provision there was
“ so very rotten, that it was more proper to de-
“ stroy his Health by Sicknefs, than to preserve
“ it, or support him in Life. All this he did
“ without ever consulting the Inquisitors, and yet
“ fraudulently and villanously pretended their
“ Command to his Prisoner. If any one be-
“ sought him to complain to the Inquisitors for
“ so injurious a Treatment, for they could not
“ do it by any other Person, and to desire an
“ Audience, the cunning Wretch knowing that
“ the whole Blame must lie upon himself, pre-
“ tended that he had asked, but could not obtain
“ it. By such forged Answers he kept the mise-
“ rable Prisoner in that deep Pit twelve or fif-
“ teen Days, more or less, till he had fully
“ gratified his Anger and Cruelty. After this

“ he brought him out, and threw him into his
 “ former Jail ; perswading him that this Favour
 “ was owing to his Humanity and Care, having
 “ made Intercession for him with their Lordships.
 “ In short, his Thefts and Injuries with which
 “ he plagued his Prisoners, who were otherwise
 “ miserable enough, were so numerous, that some
 “ Persons of Interest with the Inquisitors at length
 “ accused him before them. Upon this he was
 “ imprisoned himself ; and being found guilty
 “ of many false Accusations, he received this
 “ Sentence : That he should come out at a pub-
 “ lick Act of the Faith, carrying a wax Candle
 “ in his Hand, be banish’d five Years from the
 “ City, and forfeit the whole Sum of Money,
 “ which by Virtue of his Office he was to have
 “ received from the holy Tribunal.

p. 114.

“ This very Man, whilst he was Keeper, had
 “ in his Family an ancient Servant Maid, who
 “ observing the Distress of the Prisoners, la-
 “ bouring under intolerable Hunger and Nastiness,
 “ through the Wickedness and Barbarity
 “ of her Master, was so moved with Pity to-
 “ wards them, being her self well inclined to the
 “ Evangelical Piety, that she often spoke to them
 “ through the Doors of their Cells, comforted
 “ them, and as well as she could exhorted them
 “ to Patience, many Times putting them in Meat
 “ under their Doors, in proportion to the mean
 “ and low Abilities of her Condition. And when
 “ she had nothing of her own, by which to shew
 “ her Liberality to the Prisoners of Christ, she
 “ stole good part of that Provision from the
 “ wicked Thief her Master, which he had stolen
 “ from the Prisoners, and restored it to them.
 “ And that we may the more wonder at the Pro-
 “ vidence of God, who so orders it that the worst
 “ of

“ of Parents shall not have always the worst of
 “ Children, but sometimes even the best, a little
 “ Daughter of the Keeper himself was greatly
 “ assisting to the Maid in these pious Thefts.
 “ By means of this Servant the Prisoners had
 “ Information of the State of the Affairs of their
 “ Brethren and fellow Prisoners, which much
 “ comforted them, and was oftentimes of great
 “ Service to their Cause. But at length the
 “ Matter was discover’d by the Lords Inquisitors,
 “ by whom she was thrown into Prison for a
 “ Year, and underwent the same Fate with the
 “ other Prisoners, and condemned to walk in
 “ the publick Procession with a yellow Garment,
 “ and to receive two hundred Stripes; which was
 “ executed upon her the following Day through
 “ the Streets of the City, with the usual Pomp
 “ and Cruelty. To all this was added Banish-
 “ ment from the City and its Territories for ten
 “ Years. Her Title was, *The Favouress and Aidress*
 “ *of Hereticks*. What excited the implacable In-
 “ dignation of the Lords, the Fathers of the
 “ Faith, against her, was, That they discovered
 “ in her Examination, that she had revealed the
 “ Secrets of the most holy Tribunal to some of
 “ the Inhabitants of the City, particularly re-
 “ lating to the Provision allotted to the Prisoners.
 “ From both these Examples, and from their
 “ different and unequal Punishment, any one
 “ may see how much safer it is to add to the
 “ Affliction of the Prisoners in their Jail, than to
 “ comfort them by any Act of Humanity and
 “ Mercy whatsoever.”

And in order that the Jail of Hereticks may
 be kept secret, no one of the Officials, no not
 the Judge himself, can enter it alone, or speak
 with the Prisoners but before another of the

Officials, nor without the previous Order of the Inquisitors. All are obliged to swear that they will observe this, that no one may see or speak to the Prisoners besides the Person who gives them their Necessaries; who must be a faithful, honest Person, and is obliged to swear that he will not discover the Secrets, and must be searched to prevent his carrying any Orders or Letters to the Prisoners.

This Command they will have observed as most sacred, because, as they say, Secrecy is the Strength of the Inquisition, which might easily be violated, unless this Order be punctually kept; and therefore they always most severely punish those who transgress it. *Gonsalvius Montanus* gives us a very remarkable Instance of this.

One *Peter ab Herera*, a Man not altogether vile, but of some Humanity, and not very old, was appointed Keeper of the Tower of *Triana*, which is the Prison of the Inquisition. It happened, as it often doth in such numerous and promiscuous Imprisonments, that amongst other Prisoners committed to his Custody, there was a certain good Matron, with her two Daughters, who were put in different Cells, and earnestly desired the Liberty of seeing one another, and comforting each other in so great a Calamity. They therefore earnestly entreated the Keeper, that he would suffer them to be together for one quarter of an Hour, that they might have the Satisfaction of embracing each other. He being moved with Humanity and Compassion, allowed them to be together, and talk with one another for half an Hour; and after they had indulged their mutual Affections, he put them, as they were before, in their separate Prisons. A few Days after this they

“ were

“ were put with great Cruelty to the Torture ;
 “ and the Keeper being afraid, that through
 “ the Severity of their Torments, they should
 “ discover to the Lords, the Fathers Inquisitors,
 “ his small Humanity in suffering them to con-
 “ verse together for half an Hour without the
 “ Inquisitors Leave ; thro’ Terror, went himself
 “ to the holy Tribunal, of his own Accord con-
 “ fessed his Sin, and prayed for Pardon ; foolishly
 “ believing, that by such his Confession, he should
 “ prevent the Punishment that threatned him for
 “ this Action. But the Lords Inquisitors judged
 “ this to be so heinous a Crime, that they ordered
 “ him immediately to be thrown into Jail ; and
 “ such was the Cruelty of his Treatment, and
 “ the Disorder of Mind that followed on it, that
 “ he soon grew distracted. However, his Dis-
 “ order and Madness did not save him from a
 “ more grievous Punishment. For after he had
 “ lain a full Year in that cursed Prison, they
 “ brought him out in the publick Procession,
 “ cloathed with the yellow Garment, and an
 “ Halter round his Neck, as though he had been
 “ a common Thief ; and condemned him first to
 “ receive two hundred Lashes through the Streets
 “ of the City, and then to the Gallies for six
 “ Years. The Day after the Procession, as he
 “ was carried from the *Triana* to be whipp’d with
 “ the usual Solemnity, his Madness, which usu-
 “ ally seized him every other Hour, came on him ;
 “ and throwing himself from the Ass, on which,
 “ for the greater Shame, he was carried, he flew
 “ upon the Inquisitory † *Alguazile*, and snatching
 “ from him a Sword, had certainly killed him,
 “ had he not been prevented by the Mob who

† An Officer that executes the Orders of the Inquisition.

“ attended

“ attended him, and set him again upon the Ass,
 “ and guarded him till he had received the two
 “ hundred Lashes according to his Sentence.
 “ After this the Lords Inquisitors ordered, that
 “ as he had behaved himself indecently towards
 “ the *Alguazile*, four Years more should be added
 “ to the six for which he was at first condemned
 “ to the Gallies.”

These Keepers are answerable for the smallest Fault, for they are to use the same Care in the Custody of their Prisoners, as Fathers ought to do in governing their Families; so that if they suffer any one to escape from Jail, they are to be punished according to the Nature of their Offence. 'Tis therefore their Business frequently to visit and search the Cells of their Prisoners, to prevent any Thing from being clandestinely carried in, by which they may destroy themselves, dig through the Walls, and so escape. Their Care of the Women is to be peculiarly strict; since the Sex is naturally frail, and more subject than Men to yield to Passion and Despair, and so are more likely to seek an Occasion of destroying themselves. They must, above all other Things, take Care that they do not behave themselves indecently towards their Women Prisoners. Thus the Congregation of Cardinals Inquisitors General condemned a Jail-Keeper to the Gallies for seven Years, and to perpetual Banishment from the Place where he committed his Offence, for having carnal Knowledge of a Woman that was Prisoner in the Holy Office.

If the Inquisitor thinks it necessary to prevent the Escape of any Prisoners, he may lay them in Irons. If the Poverty of the Inquisitors is so great, or their Jails so defective, as that they are not fit to hold in safe Custody, either for
 the

the Thinness of the Walls, or for want of Iron Bars to the Windows, or sufficient Bolts for the Doors, if the Magistrate be required by the Inquisitor, he must take Care of the safe Custody of the Prisoners.

What the several Duties of the Messenger, Door-Keeper, and Physician, are, is plain enough from their very Names. They must be honest Men, and not suspected, and born of old Christians.

The Salaries of the Inquisitors and Officers are differently paid in different Countries.

In *Spain* there are fixed Salaries for the Inquisitors, and other Ministers of the holy Office, which are paid them at stated Times out of the forfeited Effects.

“ Every Inquisitor hath annually allow’d him
 “ 60000, which now is increas’d to an hundred
 “ thousand Pieces, every one of which is worth
 “ two of those Brass Pieces of Money, which
 “ they commonly call *Albi*. The Judges of the
 “ forfeited Effects have each of them 30000. The
 “ Promotor Fiscal as many. The Scribe or No-
 “ tary the same. The Executor 60000. The
 “ Receiver as many. The Messenger 20000.
 “ The Door-keeper 10000. The Physician 5000.
 “ These Salaries may be increas’d at the Plea-
 “ sure of the Inquisitor General, and are to be
 “ paid by the Receiver at the fixed Times; which
 “ if he neglects to do, he may be deprived of
 “ his Office by the Inquisitors.

“ The Assessors and Counsellors have no Sti-
 “ pend, but must give their Advice *Gratis*, when
 “ the Inquisitors desire it, as some Lawyers
 “ affirm; and though they may receive a Salary
 “ freely offer’d them, yet they cannot demand it,
 “ because all Christians are bound to support and
 “ defend

“ defend the Affair of the Catholick Faith. However, these Assessors, who are the Eyes of the Judges in every Cause, even though it be spiritual, justly receive a Salary for their Service and Labour: For many Things are justly received, which it would be Injustice to demand.

“ Those Advocates who defend the Causes of the Poor, have a Stipend out of the Treasury, which is usually very small, tho’ honourable. But if the Criminals are not poor, the Advocates are paid out of their Effects.”

’Tis also provided in *Spain*, by many Constitutions, that Inquisitors, who receive Gifts, incur the Sentence of Excommunication, and are deprived of their Office, and fined double the Value of what they take. However, as the Author of the History of the Inquisition at *Goa* informs us, the Inquisitors know how to amass vast Riches, by two Methods. When the Effects of the Prisoners, after Confiscation, are sold by the Cryer, the Inquisitors, notwithstanding the Interdict to the contrary, usually send one of their Domesticks, who bids a low Price for such Things as his Master wants, being pretty secure that no body else will out-bid them; and by this Means they buy very valuable Things for half Price, or less. Besides this, the Inquisitors have a Right to demand the Payment of the Expences, and other necessary Charges they have been at, when, and in what Sums they please, whenever the Money arising from the Confiscations is carried into the Royal Treasury; without ever giving any Reason, or any ones daring to ask them for what Purposes they employ it.

Gonsalvius Montanus also tells us, in his Arts of the *Spanish* Inquisition, *Cap.* 10. that the Inquisitors

quisitors are sometimes prevailed with to use their Prisoners a little more kindly, by some pretty Presents made by their Friends and Relations. But this Matter must be dextrously managed, that so the Inquisitor may not refuse the Offer. The first Thing therefore is, to bribe one of his Servants; in which there is no Difficulty, provided it be done privately. When the Inquisitors themselves are tampered with, they generally answer, that holy Tribunal is incorrupt, and suffers no manner of Gifts whatsoever to be received. But they have generally, amongst their Attendance, some Child of their Brother or Sister; or, at least, a Servant that they greatly esteem, and who is to be highly respected, and who only sees the Inquisitor refuse the Presents offered to him. This Servant comes to the Prisoner's Friend, and privately points out to him the Relation of the Lord Inquisitor. This is giving him to understand, unless the Person be a Stock, that though before he in vain attempted to corrupt the Integrity of this holy Tribunal, he may by this Conveyance prevail upon the Inquisitor, though he would refuse to accept the same Present when more openly offered him.



S E C T. III.

*Of the Crimes cognizable by the INQUISITION,
and the Punishment annexed to them.*

THE first and principal Crime is Heresy. Three Things are required to make any one properly an Heretick. 1. That he hath been baptized. 2. That he err in his Understanding in Matters relating to the Faith, *i. e.* differ in those Points which are determined by a General Council, or the Pope, as necessary to be believed, or enjoined as an apostolick Tradition. 3. Obstinacy of Will; as when any one persists in his Error, after being informed by a Judge of the Faith that the Opinion he holds is contrary to the Determination of the Church, and will not renounce it at the Command of such a Judge, by abjuring it, and giving suitable Satisfaction. This Crime is so widely extended by the Doctors of the *Romish* Church, that they esteem every Thing as Heresy, that is contrary to any received Opinion in the Church, tho' it be merely Philosophical, and hath no manner of Foundation in the Scripture.

The Punishments ordained against Hereticks are many, and most grievous. The first is Excommunication; by which Hereticks are driven from the Church, and expelled the Company of all Christians. The Ceremony of it is thus: When the Bishop pronounces the Anathema, twelve Priests stand round him, and hold lighted Torches in their Hands, which they throw down on the Ground, and tread under Foot at the Conclusion of the Excommunication; after which a Letter is sent to the proper Parishes, containing the Names of the excommunicated Persons, and
the

the Reason of their Sentence. Persons thus excommunicated, are deprived of all ecclesiastical Benefices and Dignities, and are not to receive Christian Burial.

Being excommunicated, all their Effects are forfeited, all Donations by them are null and void, and even Portions paid to Children must be revoked, and all Legacies to Wives forfeited. The Treasury of the Inquisition devours all. The Consequence of this is, that the Children of Hereticks are absolutely disinherited; excepting only when a Child accuses his heretical Parents. Hereticks are also deprived of their natural Power over their Children, and of that civil Power they have over their Servants; so that Slaves and Servants are, *ipso facto*, freed from Servitude the Moment their Masters fall into Heresy. Subjects also are freed from Obedience to heretical Princes and Magistrates, and absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance. In a word, Hereticks lose all Right and Property in every Thing that they have. Hence proceeds the Maxim, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, because it ought never to be given them; and because the keeping it is against the publick Good, the Salvation of Souls, and contrary, as they say, to the Laws of God and Man. Farther, all Places of Refuge, which are open to Malefactors, and the worst of Villains, are denied to Hereticks. Another Punishment is Imprisonment; or if they cannot be apprehended, they are put under the Ban; so that any one, by his own private Authority, may seize, plunder, and kill him as an Enemy, or Robber. The last Penalty is Death, the most terrible one that can be inflicted, *viz.* the being burnt to Death. Such as are obstinate and impenitent,

penitent, are to be burnt alive ; others are to be first strangled, and then burnt.

Hereticks are distinguished into open and secret. Open Hereticks are such who publicly avow somewhat contrary to the Catholick Faith, or which is condemned as such by the Sentence of the Inquisitors. Secret Hereticks are such who err in their Mind, but have not shewn it outwardly by Word or Deed ; and these are excommunicated *ipso jure* ; or who by Word or Writing have discovered the Heresy of their Heart with Secrecy and Craft ; and such are liable to all the Punishments of Hereticks.

Again, Hereticks are either affirmative or negative. Affirmative Hereticks are such who err in their Minds as to Matters of Faith ; and who by Word or Deed shew that they are obstinate in their Wills, and openly confess it before the Inquisitor. Negative Hereticks are such, who being according to the Laws of the Inquisition convicted of some Heresy before an Inquisitor, yet will not confess it ; constantly declaring that they profess the Catholick Faith, and detest heretical Pravity ; or who owning heretical Words or Actions, deny the heretical Intention ; or who refuse to discover all their Accomplices. Such are generally put to the Torture.

Again, Hereticks are either Impenitent or Penitent. An Impenitent is one, who being convicted of Heresy, or having confessed it before an Inquisitor, will not obey his Judge, when he commands him to forsake his Heresy and abjure it, but obstinately perseveres in his Error ; or who having confessed through fear of Punishment, yet afterwards asserts his Innocence, or doth not observe the Penance enjoined him. Penitents

nitents are those, who being admonished by the Inquisitor, abjure their Error, and give suitable Satisfaction, as the Bishop or Inquisitor enjoins them; either of their own Accord, or upon any particular Inquisition made after them. Such who return of their own Accord, are treated with greater Mildness; but the other enjoined a very severe Penance. But they will by no means receive such who don't return till after frequent Admonition, or till fear of Death; or who endeavour any ways to persuade others to Heresy, especially Kings and Queens, or the Sons and Daughters of Princes.

Next to Hereticks are the Believers of Hereticks, and such who receive, defend, and favour them; who by Word or Deed declare their Belief of an Heretick's Error, who knowingly take them into their Houses and other Places, and thus conceal them from the Hands of the Church, or give them Notice to make their Escape, or vindicate them on their Trial, or hinder the Procedure of the Office of the Inquisition; or who being Magistrates, refuse to extirpate them, or to apprehend and keep them in Custody, or to punish them when given over to them by the Inquisitors; or who being Prelates or Inquisitors, neglect to have safe Prisons, and faithful Jail-Keepers, or to apprehend, torture, or punish Hereticks. These, *ipso facto*, incur Excommunication; and if they remain under it a Year, are to be punished as Hereticks. And finally, such who visit them privately, whilst in Custody, and whisper with them, and give them Food; or who lament their Apprehension or Death, or who complain they are unjustly condemned, or who look with a bitter Countenance on their Prosecutors, or who gather up the Bones of Hereticks

reticks after they are burnt; these are all Favourers of Heresy, and are *ipso jure* excommunicated.

Such also who hinder the Office of the Inquisition are subject to this Tribunal. This may be done by rescuing Persons taken up for Heresy from Prison, or by wounding any of the Witnesses against them; or by using Threatnings, and terrifying Words; or by hindring Process, Judgment, or Sentence; or if a temporal Lord ordains that no one shall take Cognizance of Heresy but himself, and that no one shall be accused but before his Tribunal, nor any bear Arms but those of his own Household. The Punishment of this is Excommunication; which, if they continue under a Year, they must either abjure, or be delivered over as Hereticks to the secular Arm. Sometimes their whole Dominions are put under Interdict, and given to him who can first conquer them.

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Yea, they extend this Affair sometimes so far, that all manner of Offences committed against any one that belongs to the Inquisitors, though they have no relation to the Faith, are punished in the same Manner as though the Office of the Inquisition had been hinder'd by them, or the Inquisitor himself had received some grievous Injury. *Reginald Gonsalvius* gives us a remarkable Instance of this, which happened in the former Age at *Seville*. The Bishop of *Terragone*, chief Inquisitor at *Seville*, went one Summer for his Diversion to some pleasant Gardens situate by the Sea Side, with all his Inquisitory Family, and walked out, according to his Custom, with his Episcopal Attendance. A Child of the Gardener, two or three Years old at most, accidentally sat playing upon the Side of a Pond in the Garden, where

where my Lord Bishop was taking his Pleasure. One of the Boys that attended his Lordship, snatch'd out of the Hand of the Gardener's Child a Reed, with which he was playing, and made him cry. The Gardener hearing his Child, comes to the Place; and when he found out the Occasion of his crying, was angry, and bad the Inquisitor's Servant restore the Reed to him. And upon his Refusal, and insolently contemning the Countryman, he snatch'd it away; and as the Boy held it fast, the Gardener slightly hurt his Hand by the sharp Husk of the Reed, in pulling it from him. The Wound was far from being mortal, or from endangering the Loss of any Part, and so could not deserve a severe Punishment. 'Twas no more than a Scratch of the Skin, a mere childish Wound, as one may imagine by the Cause of it. However, the Inquisitor's Boy came to his Master, who was walking near the Place, to complain about his Wound; upon which the Inquisitor orders the Gardener to be taken up, and thrown into the Inquisitory Jail, and kept him there for nine Months in very heavy Irons; by which he received such Damage in his Circumstances, which were at best but mean, as the poor Man could not easily recover; his Children and Wife, in the mean while, being ready to perish for Hunger: And all because he did not pay Deference enough to the Inquisitor's Boy, as a Member of the holy Tribunal. At nine Months End they dismissed him from Jail, and would have persuaded him that they dealt much more mercifully with him than his Crime deserved.

Again, there are other Persons who are only suspected of Heresy. This Suspicion is threefold; Light, Vehement, or Violent. A light Suspicion

arises from a Person's frequenting Conventicles, and in his Behaviour differing from the common Conversation of the Faithful. A vehement Suspicion of Heresy, is a Person's not appearing when called to answer upon any Article of the Faith; hindering the Inquisition, giving Counsel or Assistance to Hereticks; or advising them to conceal the Truth, or who knowingly accompany, visit, or receive them; or who are convicted of Perjury or Lying, in a Cause of the Faith; or who give ecclesiastical Burial to Hereticks, or their Favourers, or bury them in Church-Yards with Psalms and Prayers; or who preserve the Ashes, Bones, Garments, and the like, of buried Hereticks; or who think ill of some Doctrine or Order of the Church, such as the Power of the Pope, the Religion of the Monks, the Rites of the Sacrament, and the like; or who persist in their Excommunication for two Years: Such Persons give such Suspicions as are sufficient to put them to the Torture. A violent Suspicion arises from such external Words and Actions by which it may be effectually, and almost always concluded, that he who says or doth them is an Heretick; such as the receiving the Communion from Hereticks, and the like. Of these different Kinds of Suspicions the Punishment is different. A Person lightly suspected is injoin'd Canonical Purgation, or may be made to abjure. One vehemently suspected may be commanded a general Abjuration of all Heresies; after which, if he relapses into his former Heresy, or associates with, and favours Hereticks, he is delivered over to the secular Power as a Relapse. One violently suspected, is to be condemned as an Heretick. If he confesses and abjures, he may be admitted to

Penance;

Penance ; but if he doth not confess, and will not abjure, he is to be delivered over to the secular Court, and burnt.

And as some Persons are suspected, others are defamed for Heresy ; such who are spoken against by common Report, or such against whom there is legal Proof before a Bishop that they are spoken against upon account of Heresy. And to this two Witnesses suffice, tho' they have had their Information from different Persons, and tho' they don't agree as to Time and Place, and the Causes of their Knowledge ; and tho' the Person accused as defamed, can prove himself to be of good Reputation. The Punishment of one thus defamed is Canonical Purgation, and some other ordinary Penalty.

Again, other Persons are Relapsed ; such who after having been convicted, either by the Evidence of the Fact, or their own Confession, or legal Witnesses, have publicly abjured their Heresy, and are convicted of falling into the same again, or into any different Heresy, or into a violent Suspicion of Heresy, and who accompany, visit, and favour Hereticks ; or who are found to be perjured after Abjuration, or who after Abjuration and Purgation do not perform the Penance injoin'd them. But there is this Difference between the last, and the former relapsed Persons ; that the former are left without Mercy to the secular Arm ; whereas 'tis in the Inquisitor's Pleasure to deliver the latter to secular Judgment, or not.

Those also who read and keep prohibited Books are subject to the Tribunal of the Inquisition. Pope *Pius V.* by a Bull excommunicated, amongst others, all who should knowingly read, keep in their Houses, print, or in any wise defend, for

any Cause, publickly or privately, under any Pretence or Colour, prohibited Books, without the Authority of the Apostolick See. If any one brings heretical Books into any Catholick Countries, he is not only excommunicated, but his Goods confiscated, and himself whipped, if he be of mean Condition; but if he is of the better Sort, he is banished at the Pleasure of the Inquisitor. If there arises any vehement Suspicion of Heresy, from any one's reading, keeping, defending, or printing the Books of Hereticks, he may be put to the Torture to discover the Truth. If any of the Clergy read or keep prohibited Books, they are vehemently suspected; and may be deprived of the active and passive Voice, suspended from divine Services, deprived of the Offices of Reading, Preaching, &c. and be enjoined Fastings, Pilgrimages, and the like.

The Inquisitors also take Cognizance of those who marry several Wives at once, because they are presum'd to think wrong of the Sacrament of Matrimony. If upon Examination any one affirms it lawful for a Christian Man to have several Wives at once, he is taken for a formal Heretick, and is to be punished as such. If he denies any heretical Intention, he must be put to the Torture; that the Inquisitors may know what his Mind is, and whether he married two Wives out of any erroneous Opinion concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony, or thro' Lust, or carnal Concupiscence. All such Persons are suspected of Heresy, and must abjure as such, and may be condemned to the Gallies.

If any one celebrates Mass, or hears Confession, and gives Absolution, not being in Priest's Orders, he is vehemently suspected of Heresy; and must abjure as such, and then be delivered
over

over to the secular Arm, to be punished with Death. *Raynald* gives us an Instance of one who said he was a Bishop, though he had not the Pope's Bull, and as such consecrated Priests. The Story is this: "*James* the Priest, a false Minorite, born in the Dutchy of *Fuliers*, forged the Pope's Bull, and declared in the *Netherlands* that he was a Bishop; and although he had not been ordained a Bishop, he consecrated Priests by a false Ceremony in several Dioceses of *Germany* and the *Low Countries*. At length he was convicted of his Wickedness, and the Magistrates of *Utrecht* thought fit, not to condemn him to the Flames, that he might be quickly consumed, but to be gradually burnt by boiling Water, that so they might conquer his Obstinacy, because he most impudently refused to acknowledge his Crime. But being gradually let down into the boiling Cauldron, and overcome with the Extremity of the Pain, he detested his Wickedness, and pray'd that he might receive a milder Punishment. His Judges being moved with Compassion, ordered him to be taken out of the boiling Cauldron, and then to be beheaded."

Those also who solicit Women or Boys to dishonourable Actions in the Sacramental Confession, are subject to this Tribunal. *Pius IV.* published a Bull against them; and when this Bull was first brought into *Spain*, all Persons were commanded by a publick Edict, solemnly published throughout all the Churches of the Archbishoprick of *Seville*, that whosoever knew or had heard of any Monks or Clergymen who had abused the Sacrament of Confession to these Crimes, or had in any manner acted in this vile Manner at Confession with their Wives or Daughters, they should discover them

within thirty Days to the holy Tribunal; and very grievous Censures were annexed to such as should neglect or contemn it. When the Decree was published, so large a Number of Women went to the Palace of the Inquisitors in the City of *Seville* only, to make their Discoveries of these most wicked Confessors, that twenty Secretaries, with as many Inquisitors, were not sufficient to take the Depositions of the Witnesses. The Lords Inquisitors being thus overwhelmed with the Multitude of Affairs, assigned another thirty Days for the Witnesses; and when this was not sufficient, they were forced to appoint the same Number a third and a fourth Time. For as to Women of Reputation, and others of higher Condition, every Time was not proper for them to apply to the Inquisitors. On one hand, their Conscience forced them to a Discovery thro' a superstitious Fear of the Censures and Excommunication; and on the other hand, their Regard to their Husbands, whom they were afraid to offend, by giving them any ill Suspicion of their Chastity, kept them at home; and therefore veiling their Faces, after the *Spanish* Custom, they went to the Lords Inquisitors, when, and as privately as they could. Very few, however, with all their Prudence and Craft, could escape the diligent Observation of their Husbands at the Time of Discovery, and hereby possessed their Minds with the deepest Jealousy. However, after so many had been informed against before the Inquisitors, that holy Tribunal, contrary to all Mens Expectations, put a Stop to the Affair, and commanded all those Crimes which were proved by legal Evidence, to be buried in eternal Oblivion.

It is required that this Solicitation be made in the Act of Sacramental Confession; as if immediately after Confession the Confessor says to the Woman, since you have carnally lain with such a one, do me the Favour, and lie with me: Or if a Confessor solicits a Boy immediately after Confession, carrying him into his House or Chamber; or if he enjoins Penance to a Woman, *viz.* to be whipped naked by the Confessor himself, and he himself performs the Penance, and whips her with his own Hand, or with a Scourge; or if he persuades a Woman to shew her privy Parts to him, which she confessed to be affected with a certain Disease; such Confessors are vehemently suspected, and must abjure as such, and be injoin'd Fastings and Prayers, and may be condemned to the Gallies, or perpetual Imprisonment; must be suspended from hearing Confessions, and deprived of their Benefices, Dignities, and the like.

Yea, sometimes, according to the Heinousness of the Offence, a more grievous Punishment is inflicted. *The Venetians ordered one of them to be burnt alive, by Command of the Pope. He had been Father Confessor to some Nuns in the Dominions of Venice, and had got twelve of them with Child; amongst whom the Abbess and two others had Children in one Year. As he was confessing them, he agreed with them about the Place, Manner, and Time of lying with them. All were filled with Admiration and Astonishment, taking the Man for a perfect Saint, he had so great a Shew of Sanctity in his very Face. Epist. ad Belgas, Cent. 1. Ep. 66. p. 345. & Ep. 63. p. 316.*

In Portugal also the Crime of Sodomy belongs to the Tribunal of the Inquisition. By the Laws of that Kingdom Sodomites are punished with Death,
and

and Confiscation of all their Effects; and their Children and Grandchildren become infamous. After the natural Death of a Sodomite, if the Crime hath not been proved, they cannot proceed against him, neither as to the Crime, nor Confiscation of Effects, although the Crime can be proved by legal Witnesses; because Crimes, which are not particularly excepted, of which *Sodomy* is one, are extinguished by the Death of the Delinquent. Nor do they proceed against a dead Sodomite, nor confiscate his Effects, although he hath been convicted, or confessed when he was alive. If such a one takes Sanctuary in a Church, he can't be taken out of it.

If we compare these Things with the Punishments of Hereticks, it will appear that the Crime of Sodomy in the Kingdom of *Portugal* is esteemed a much smaller one than that of Heresy, because Sodomites enjoy Privileges which are denied to Hereticks. And yet it may happen, that a truly pious Man, who fears God, and is most careful of his eternal Salvation, may be accounted an Heretick by the *Portuguese* Inquisitors; whereas a Sodomite cannot but be the vilest of Men. But 'tis not at all strange, that by the Laws of that Tribunal *Barabbas* should be released, and Christ crucified.

Blasphemers also, who deny God, or their Belief in him, or the Virginity of our Lady, are subject to the Inquisitors, and punished in the following Manner. If the Blasphemy be very heinous, and the Blasphemer a mean Person, he is made to wear an infamous Mitre, hath his Tongue tied, and pinched with an Iron or Wooden Gag, is carried forth as a publick Spectacle without his Cloak, whipp'd with Scourges, and banished. But if he be a Person of better Condition,

dition, or Noble, he is brought forth without the Mitre, thrust for a Time into a Monastery, and punished with a Fine. In smaller Blasphemies they are dealt with more gently, at the Pleasure of the Inquisitors, viz. the Blasphemer is condemned to stand, during divine Service, upon some Holiday or other, with his Head naked, without his Cloak and Shoes, his Feet naked, a Cord tied round him, and holding a burning Wax-Taper in his Hands. Sometimes also they squeeze his Tongue with a Piece of Wood. After divine Service is over his Sentence is read, by which he is injoin'd Fastings, and a Fine.

This Punishment however doth not take place as to a Clergyman. For if a Clergyman was to appear without his Shoes, and with an Halter about his Neck, and thus stand at the Gates of the Church before the People, the Clerical Order, and the Ministry of the Clergy would suffer Disgrace; and it would become a Wonder, and evil Example to the Laity, if the blaspheming Clergy were thus exposed.

In these Cases the Inquisitors mostly act according to their own Pleasure, who have an ample Power of judging according to the Nature and Heinousness of the Crimes. A certain Person who had a Quarrel with a Clergyman of *Ecyá*, a City in *Spain*, accidentally said, in the Hearing of others, that he could not believe that God would come down into the Hands of so profligate an Adulterer. The Vicar of the Ordinary fined him for the Speech. But the Clergyman not contented with this Revenge, afterwards accused him of Blasphemy at the Tribunal of the Inquisitors at *Seville*. Nor did the Fine to which he was before condemned by the Ordinary, prevent his being taken up by Command of the Inquisitors,

sitors, imprisoned for a whole Year, brought out in Triumph without Cloak or Hat, carrying a Wax-Candle in his Hand, his Tongue gagged with a wooden Gag, thus to punish his Blasphemy; and being forc'd to abjure, as lightly suspected, he was fined a second Time.

Fortune-Tellers, who look into the Palms of the Hands, such who exercise Divination by Lots, and use Candles and holy Water to discover stolen Goods, if they deny any heretical Intention, may be tortured to discover it; and if found guilty, are excommunicated, whipped, banished, and subject to other Punishments. If any pretend to foretel the Mysteries of Faith by the Stars, or the Life or Death of the Pope, or his Kindred, they may be punished with Death, and Confiscation of Goods. With these Fortune-Tellers are joined Witches; who are reported to deny the Faith, and make a Compact with the Devil. These poor Wretches are miserably tortured to force them to confess, and then burnt. The Inquisitors, within the Space of 150 Years, burnt 30000 of them.

Finally, the *Jews* are also severely handled by this Tribunal. The Inquisition indeed is not design'd to compel the *Jews* to turn Christians, but is introduced against those, who being converted from Judaism to Christianity, return again to the Principles they have forsaken; or who deny Matters of Faith common to them and Christians; or if they invoke Devils, or sacrifice to them; or if they speak heretical Blasphemies, or pervert a Christian from the Faith, or hinder Infidels from being converted; or knowingly receive an Heretick, or keep heretical Books, or deride the Host or the Cross; or keep Christian Nurses, and the like. But the Inquisition is levelled

levelled principally against those, who having professed Christianity, and been baptized, turn again to Judaism. When suspected they are liable to the Torture, may be compelled to abjure, fined, imprisoned, whipped, or burnt, according to the Nature of their Errors, or heretical Actions.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Manner of Proceeding before the Tribunal of the INQUISITION.

IT now remains that I give some Account of what relates to the Execution of the Inquisitorial Office.

When the Inquisitor is first constituted by the Pope, he must present himself to the King, or other temporal Lord of those Territories in which he is to act, and deliver his Apostolick Commission, and demand full Protection for himself and Officers, in all Matters belonging to their Office. He must also shew his Commission to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Dioceses in which he is sent. Finally, he takes an Oath from the Civil Officers, that they will defend the Faith, and obey the Inquisitor with all their Might; and this Oath they may compel them to take, under pain of Excommunication, and all the Punishments which attend it.

After this the Inquisitor appoints a Sermon to be preached on a certain Day, all other Sermons being suspended; at which four of each Religion must be present, and in which he commends the Catholick Faith, and exhorts the People to extirpate heretical Pravity. When the Sermon is ended, he admonishes them to discover to himself all Persons who are erroneous, and have said
or

or done any Thing against the Faith; and then orders monitory Letters to be read from the Pulpit, by which all Persons, of whatsoever Condition, Clergy or Laity, are commanded, under Pain of Excommunication, to discover to the Inquisitors within six or twelve Days following any Heretick, or Person suspected of Heresy, which they know. These monitory Letters are called, *An Edict of the Faith*. When these Letters are read, he promises, in the Pope's Name, Indulgences for three Years to all who assist him in reducing Hereticks, or who discover to him any such; or Persons defamed, and suspected of Heresy; or who, in any other Case, bear true Witness before him in an Act of Faith. And finally, he assigns a Time of Grace to all Hereticks, &c. viz. the Month following; promising them, that if within that Space they come freely to him, before they are accused or apprehended, and voluntarily discover their Guilt, and ask Pardon, they shall obtain Pardon and Mercy; viz. Freedom from Death, Imprisonment, Banishment, and Confiscation of Effects.

From this Obligation to accuse Hereticks, no Persons, of whatsoever Dignity or Degree, are exempted: Brother must accuse Brother, the Wife her Husband, the Husband his Wife, the Son his Father, when heretical, or suspected of Heresy; the Edict obliges all; and neither Kings nor Princes, nor nearest Relations are exempted.

Joan, the Daughter of the Emperor *Charles V.* was cited by the Inquisitors to be interrogated before them, against a certain Person, concerning some Things relating to the Faith. She consulted her Father, who advised her to make her Deposition without any Delay (lest she should incur Excommunication) not only against others, but even

even against himself, if she knew him to be blameable in the least Matter. *Joan* obeyed this Command of her Father, and immediately deposed before *Ferdinand Valdez*, Archbishop of *Seville*, at that Time Bishop and Inquisitor General.

Lewis de Carvajal, altho' Governor and Captain General of the Province of *Tampico* and *Pamlico*, was forced to walk out in publick Penance, because he did not denounce four Women, who were secretly *Jews*, and to whom he was Uncle; and tho' a little before he had the honourable Title of President, he was forced to hear his ignominious Sentence publicly, was for ever deprived of all Offices under the King, reduced to the lowest Misery, and thro' Grief and Weariness of his Life, soon went the Way of all Flesh.

If any Person comes in within the appointed Time to accuse himself, he is asked, how long he hath continued in his Errors, and from whom he learnt them? Whether he hath had, and read any heretical or suspected Books? What they were, from whom he had them, and what he hath done with them? Other Questions are added concerning his Accomplices in Heresies, that he may tell the Names of all those Hereticks, or Persons suspected of Heresy, whom he knows. He is farther asked, Whether he hath ever been inquisited, proessed, or accused or denounced in any Tribunal, or before any Judge, on account of the aforesaid Errors, or other Things relating to Heresy? He is also admonished simply to tell the whole Truth which he knows, as well of himself as of others; because, if he is afterwards found deceitfully to have concealed any Thing, he is judged as one whose Confession is imperfect, and as impenitent, and feignedly converted.

converted. Finally, he is interrogated, Whether he repents of these Errors and Heresies into which he hath fallen? And whether he is ready to abjure, curse and detest them, and all other Heresies whatsoever, that exalt themselves against the holy Apostolick and *Roman* Church, and to live for the future catholickly, according to the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, and devoutly to fulfil the salutary Penance injoin'd him?

However, such as come thus voluntarily, are far from escaping all Punishment, but are either treated kindly at the Pleasure of the Inquisitor, according to the Quality of their Persons and Crimes, or else condemned to pay a Fine, or give Alms, or some such Works of Charity. But if they wait till they are accused, denounced, cited or apprehended, or suffer the Time of Grace to slip over, they are pronounced unworthy of such Favours.

And in this Case many foolishly deceive themselves with a false Opinion, believing, that because Favour is promised to such who appear voluntarily, they shall be free from all Punishment; because they are only saved from the more terrible ones, it being left to the Pleasure of the Inquisitors to inflict some penitential Punishment on them, according to the Nature of their Crime, as will appear from the following Instance.

“ There was at the City of *Cadiz* a certain Foreigner, who yet had lived in *Spain* for twenty
 “ Years; who, according to a common Superstition, dwelt in a Desert in a certain Chapel,
 “ upon the Account of Religion. Hearing in
 “ his Chapel of the great Number of those who
 “ were taken up every Day at *Seville* by the Inquisitors, for what they call the *Lutheran* Heresies; having heard also of the Decree of the
 “ Inqui-

“ Inquisitors, by which he was commanded,
 “ under the Terrors of Excommunication, im-
 “ mediately to discover to the Inquisition what-
 “ soever he knew of those Things, either as to
 “ others or himself; the poor stupid Hermit
 “ comes to *Seville*, goes to the Inquisitors and
 “ accuses himself, because he thought the said
 “ Inquisitors would use singular Clemency to-
 “ wards those who thus betrayed themselves.
 “ His Crime was, That whereas being about
 “ twenty Years before this at *Genoa*, and hearing
 “ a certain Brother of his disputing about a
 “ Man’s Justification by Faith in Christ, of Pur-
 “ gatory, and other Things of the like Nature,
 “ he did not wholly condemn them, tho’ he ne-
 “ ver thought of them afterwards. He therefore
 “ acknowledged his Crime, and came to ask
 “ Mercy. When the Lords Inquisitors had re-
 “ ceived his Confession, they commanded the
 “ poor Hermit to Jail; where, after a long Con-
 “ finement, he was brought out in publick Pro-
 “ cession, and was sentenced to wear the San-
 “ benito, to three Years Imprisonment, and the
 “ Forfeiture of his Effects.”

Sometimes also they use a certain Stratagem to
 draw Persons to a voluntary Appearance before
 the Inquisitors. “ When they have apprehended
 “ any remarkable Person, who hath been the
 “ Teacher of others, or who they know hath
 “ been resorted to by many others, upon ac-
 “ count of his Doctrine and Learning, as being
 “ a Teacher and Preacher of great Repute; ’tis
 “ usual with them to cause a Report to be spread
 “ amongst the People, by their Familiars, that
 “ being grievously tortured, he had discovered
 “ several of those that had adhered to him, sub-
 “ orning some Persons out of the neighbouring

Q

“ Prisons

“ Prisons to assert that they heard his Cries amidst
 “ his Tortures, in order to give the greater
 “ Credit to the Report. These Reports are
 “ spread for this Reason, that such who have
 “ attended on his Instructions, or have been any
 “ ways familiar with him, may in time go to the
 “ holy Tribunal, confess their Fault, and im-
 “ plore Mercy, before they are sent for, or ap-
 “ prehended. By this Means they impose on
 “ many, who, if they had waited for their Sum-
 “ mons, had never been summoned at all. Or
 “ if it should have happened that they had been
 “ summoned, would not have been dealt with
 “ more severely than they generally are, who
 “ trust to the Inquisitors Promises.”

If any Person is accused by another, the Ac-
 cuser is interrogated, “ How long he hath known
 “ N. against whom he denounces? Likewise,
 “ how he came to know him? Again, whether
 “ he observed that the aforesaid N. was suspected
 “ of Matters relating to the Faith from his Words,
 “ or his Actions? Likewise, how often he had
 “ seen the said N. do or say those Things for
 “ which he thought him an Heretick, or sus-
 “ pected of Heresy? Likewise, at what Time,
 “ and in the Presence of whom the aforesaid N.
 “ did or said those Things of which he is de-
 “ nounced? Likewise, whether the aforesaid N.
 “ hath had any Accomplices in the aforesaid
 “ Crimes, or any Writings belonging to the Of-
 “ fences denounced? Likewise, to what End
 “ and Purpose the aforesaid Things were done
 “ or said by the aforesaid N. whether seriously,
 “ or in Jest? If it appears that there was a long
 “ Interval of Time between the Commission of
 “ the Crimes denounced, and the making the
 “ Denunciation, the Inquisitor interrogates the
 “ Denoun-

“ Denouncer, why he deferred so long to come
 “ to the holy Office, and did not depose before,
 “ especially if he knew that he incurred the Pe-
 “ nalty of Excommunication by such Omission?”

He is moreover asked, “ Whether he knows any
 “ Thing farther of *N.* which concerns the holy
 “ Office, or of any other Person? Likewise,
 “ whether he hath at any Time had any Cause
 “ of Hatred or Enmity with the aforesaid *N.*
 “ and whence it proceeded? With what Zeal,
 “ and with what Intention he comes to the holy
 “ Office, and to make Denunciation? Whether
 “ he hath denounced thro’ any Passion of Mind,
 “ ill Will, Hatred, or Subornation? And he
 “ is admonished ingenuously to tell the Truth.”

He is especially interrogated how he came by his Knowledge, because on that principally the Truth and Weight of the Testimony depends.

When the Denunciation is received, First, it must be read over to the Denouncer, that he may add, take away, or alter as he pleases. Secondly, he must subscribe to his Deposition; or if he can’t write, he must at least put under it the Sign of the Cross. Thirdly, he must take an Oath of Secrecy.

After this the Witnesses are call’d on. And in this Affair all Persons, even such as are not allowed in other Tribunals, are admitted. Persons excommunicated, Hereticks, *Jews*, and Infidels, Wives, Sons and Daughters, and Domesticks, are allowed as Witnesses against those accused of Heresy, but never for them: Those who are perjured and infamous, Whores, Bawds, those under the Ban, Usurers, Bastards, common Blasphemers, Gamesters, Persons actually drunk, Stage-Players, Prize-Fighters, Apostates, Traitors,

even all without Exception, besides mortal Enemies.

When the Witnesses are summoned, first they take an Oath upon the Scriptures to speak the Truth. After this he is asked by the Inquisitor, whether he knows, or can guess the Cause of his Citation and present Examination? If he says yes, he is interrogated how he knew it? If he says no, he is interrogated, whether he hath known, or doth know now any one or more Hereticks, or Persons suspected of Heresy, or at least is able to name any such? Whether he knows *N*? What was the Occasion of his Acquaintance with him? How long he hath known him? Whether he hath been used to converse with him? Whether he hath heard at any time any Thing from the said *N*. concerning the Catholick Religion? Whether ever he was in such a Place with the said *N*. and whether the said *N*. did or said there such and such heretical Things, or favouring of Heresy? Who were present when *N*. did or said the aforesaid Things? How often he saw them said or done, and on what Occasion, and how? Whether the said *N*. spoke the aforesaid Things in Jest, or without Thinking, or thro' a Slip of his Tongue, or as relating the Heresies of some other Person or Persons? Whether he said any Thing which ought not to have been said, thro' Hatred or Love, or omitted and concealed somewhat that ought to have been explained? He is farther admonished to tell the single Truth, because, if he is detected of speaking falsely, he will be made to suffer the Penalties, not only of Perjury, but of favouring Heresy.

After this one of the Proctors of the Court demands that the Criminal be taken up, and the
Inqui-

Inquisitor subscribes an Order for this Purpose. When he is apprehended, he must be well guarded, put in Irons, and delivered to the Jail-Keeper of the Inquisition.

When the Criminal is put in Jail, he is brought before the Inquisitor. The Place where he appears before the Inquisitor, is called by the *Portuguese* the Table of the holy Office. At the farther End of it there is placed a Crucifix, raised up almost as high as the Cieling. In the Middle of the Room there is a Table. At that End which is nearest the Crucifix, sits the Secretary or Notary of the Inquisition. The Criminal is brought in by the Beadle, with his Head, Arms and Feet naked, and is followed by one of the Keepers. When they come to the Chamber of Audience, the Beadle enters first, makes a profound Reverence before the Inquisitor, and then withdraws. After this the Criminal enters alone, who is ordered to sit down on a Bench at the other End of the Table, over against the Secretary. The Inquisitor sits on his right Hand. On the Table near the Criminal lies a Missal, or Book of the Gospels; and he is ordered to lay his Hand on one of them, and to swear that he will declare the Truth, and keep Secrecy.

After taking this Oath, of declaring the Truth both of himself and others, the Inquisitor interrogates him of divers Matters. As, whether he knows why he was taken up, or hath been informed of it by any one or more Persons? Where, when, and how he was apprehended? If he says that he knows nothing of it, he is asked, whether he can't guess at the Reason? Whether he knows in what Prisons he is detained? and upon what Account Men are imprisoned there? If he says he can't guess at the Cause of his Im-

prisonment, but knows that he is in the Prisons of the holy Office, where Hereticks and Persons suspected of Heresy are confined, he is told, that since he knows Persons are confined there for their Profanation of Religion, he ought to conclude that he also is confined for the same Reason; and must therefore declare what he believes to be the Cause of his own Apprehension and Confinement in the Prisons of the holy Office. If he says he cannot imagine what it should be, before he is asked any other Questions, he receives a gentle Admonition, and is put in mind of the Lenity of the holy Office towards those who confess without forcing, and of the Rigour of Justice used towards those who are obstinate. They also compare other Tribunals with the holy Office, and remind him, that in others the Confession of the Crime draws after it immediate Execution and Punishment; but that in the Court of the Inquisition, those who confess, and are penitent, are treated with greater Gentleness. After this he is admonished in Writing, and told, that the Ministers of the holy Office never take up any one, or are used to apprehend any one without a just Cause; and that therefore they earnestly beseech him, and command and enjoin him exactly to recollect and diligently to consider his Actions, to examine his Conscience, and purge it from all those Offences and Errors it labours under, and for which he is informed against.

After this he is asked, what Race he comes of? Who were his Parents and Ancestors? that hereby he may declare all his Family. Whether any one of them was at any time taken up by the holy Office, and enjoined Penance? This they are especially asked, who descend from *Jews*,

Maho-

Mahometans, and *Sectaries*. Where he was brought up? In what Places he hath dwelt? Whether he ever changed his Country? Why he did so, and went into another Place? With whom he conversed in the aforesaid Places; who were his Friends, and with whom he was intimate? Whether he ever conversed with any of his Acquaintance about Matters of Religion, or heard them speak about Religion? In what Place, and when, and how often, and of what Things or Matters they conversed?

He is moreover asked, of what Profession he is, and what Employment of Life he follows? Whether he be rich or poor? What Returns he hath, and what the Expences of his Living? Then he is commanded to give an Account of his Life, and to declare what he hath done from his Childhood, even to this Time. And that he may declare all this, he is asked, in what Places or Cities he studied, and what Studies he followed? Who were his Masters? whose Names he must tell. What Arts he learnt? What Books he hath had and read? and whether he hath now any Books treating of Religion, and what? Whether ever he hath been examined and cited, or sued, or proessed before any other Tribunal, or the Tribunal of the holy Inquisition, and for what Causes; and whether he was absolved or condemned, by what Judge, and in what Year? Whether ever he was excommunicated, and for what Cause? Whether he was afterwards absolved or condemned, and for what Reason? Whether he hath every Year sacramentally confessed his Sins, how often, and in what Church? Then he is commanded to give the Names of his Confessors, and of those from whom he hath received the Eucharist; and especially for the ten

Years last past, and more. What Orations or holy Prayers he recites? Whether he hath any Enemies? whose Names he must tell, and the Reasons of their Enmity.

If the Criminal is persuaded by these, or by more or less such Interrogatories, openly to confess the Truth, his Cause is finished, because 'tis immediately known what will be the Issue of it.

But if after all these Interrogatories the Prisoner persists in the Negative, and says he doth not know why he is cited or sent to Prison, the Inquisitor replies, that since it appears from his own Words, that he will not discover the Truth, and that there is no Proof of his having such Enmities with any Persons, or that there are no such Causes of Hatred as he alledges, by which others could, or ought to be induced slanderously, and falsely to inform against him, that therefore there arises the stronger Suspicion, that the Depositions against him in the holy Office are true. And therefore he is beseeched and adjured, by the Bowels of Mercy of Christ Jesus, to consider better and better, and ingenuously to confess the Truth, and to declare whether he hath erred in Words or Deeds, in the aforesaid Matter relating to the Faith, and the holy Office, or rendred himself suspected to others.

If by such general Interrogatories the Inquisitor can't draw from the Prisoner a Confession of the Crime of which he is accused, he comes to particular Interrogatories, which relate to the Matter it self, or the Crimes or Heresies for which the Criminal was denounced. For Instance, if he was accused for denying Purgatory, then one, two, or three Days after his first Examination, he is again interrogated by the Inquisitor, whether he hath any Thing, and what to say,

say, besides what he said in his other Examination? Whether he hath thought better of the Matter, and can recollect the Cause of his Imprisonment, and former Examination, or hath at least any Suspicion who could accuse him to the holy Office, and of what Matters? Whether he hath heard any one discoursing of Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell? What he heard concerning that Matter? Who they were, that he heard speaking, or disputing of those Things? Whether he ever discoursed of them? What he hath believed, and doth now believe about Purgatory? If he answers, that his Faith concerning it hath been right, and denies any ill Belief, but that he believes as holy Mother Church believes and teaches, he is order'd to say what the holy *Roman* Mother Church doth think and believe concerning this Article.

If the Prisoner knows the Reason of his being apprehended, and openly confesses every Thing of which he hath been accused to the Inquisitor, he is commended, and encouraged to hope for a speedy Deliverance. If he confesses some Things, but can't guess at others, he is commended for taking up the Purpose of accusing himself, and exhorted by the Bowels of Mercy of Jesus Christ to proceed, and ingenuously to confess every Thing else of which he is accused; that so he may experience that Kindness and Mercy, which this Tribunal uses towards those who manifest a real Repentance of their Crimes by a sincere and voluntary Confession.

In these Examinations the Inquisitors use the greatest Artifice, to draw from the Prisoners Confessions of those Crimes of which they are accused; promising them Favour, if they will confess the Truth. And by these flattering Assurances

p. 82, &c. rances they sometimes overcome the Minds of more unwary Persons; and when they have obtained the designed End, immediately forget them all. Of this *Gonsalvus* gives us a remarkable Instance. “ In the first Fire that was blown up at *Seville*, An. 1558, or 1559. amongst many others who were taken up, there was a certain pious Matron, with her two Virgin Daughters, and her Niece by her Sister, who was married. As they endured those Tortures of all Kinds, with a truly manlike Constancy, by which they endeavoured to make them perfidiously betray their Brethren in Christ, and especially to accuse one another, the Inquisitor at length commanded one of the Daughters to be sent for to Audience. There he discoursed with her alone for a considerable Time, in order to comfort her, as indeed she needed it. When the Discourse was ended, the Girl was remanded to her Prison. Some Days after he acted the same Part again, causing her to be brought before him several Days towards the Evening, detaining her for a considerable while; sometimes telling her how much he was grieved for her Afflictions, and then intermixing familiarly enough other pleasant and agreeable Things. All this, as the Event shewed, had only this Tendency, that after he had persuaded the poor simple Girl, that he was really, and with a fatherly Affection concerned for her Calamity, and would consult as a Father what might be for her Benefit and Salvation, and that of her Mother and Sisters, she might wholly throw her self into his Protection. After some Days spent in such familiar Discourses, during which he pretended to mourn with her over her Calamity, and to

“ shew

“ shew himself affected with her Miseries, and
“ to give her all the Proofs of his good Will, in
“ order, as far as he could, to remove them;
“ when he knew he had deceived the Girl, he
“ begins to persuade her to discover what she
“ knew of her self, her Mother, Sisters, and
“ Aunts who were not yet apprehended, pro-
“ mising upon Oath, that if she would faithfully
“ discover to him all that she knew of that Affair,
“ he would find out a Method to relieve her
“ from all her Misfortunes, and to send them
“ all back again to their Houses. The Girl,
“ who had no very great Penetration, being thus
“ allured by the Promises and Persuasions of the
“ Father of the Faith, begins to tell him some
“ Things relating to the holy Doctrine she had
“ been taught, and about which they used to
“ confer with one another. When the Inqui-
“ sitor had now got hold of the Thread, he
“ dextrously endeavoured to find his Way
“ throughout the whole Labyrinth; oftentimes
“ calling the Girl to Audience, that what she
“ had deposed might be taken down in a legal
“ Manner; always persuading her, this would
“ be the only just Means to put an End to all
“ her Evils. In the last Audience he renews to
“ her all his Promises, by which he had before
“ assured her of her Liberty, and the like. But
“ when the poor Girl expected the Performance
“ of them, the said Inquisitor, with his Fol-
“ lowers, finding the Success of his Craftiness,
“ by which he had in part drawn out of the
“ Girl, what before they could not extort from
“ her by Torments, determined to put her to
“ the Torture again, to force out of her what
“ they thought she had yet concealed. Accord-
“ ingly she was made to suffer the most cruel Part
“ of

“ of it, even the Rack, and the Torture by
 “ Water ; till at last they had squeezed out of
 “ her, as with a Press, both the Heresies and
 “ Accusations of Persons they had been hunting
 “ after. For, thro’ the Extremity of her Tor-
 “ ture, she accused her Mother and Sisters, and
 “ several others, who were afterwards taken up
 “ and tortured, and burnt alive in the same Fire
 “ with the Girl.”

But if they don’t succeed neither with this Way, the Inquisitor permits some Person or other, who is not unacceptable to the Prisoner, to go to him, and converse with him ; and if it be needful to feign himself still one of his own Sect, but that he abjured thro’ Fear, and discovered the Truth to the Inquisitor. When he finds that the Prisoner confides in him, he comes to him again late in the Evening, keeps on a Discourse with him, at length pretending ’tis too late to go away, and that therefore he will stay with him all Night in the Prison, that they may converse together, and the Prisoner may be persuaded by the other’s Discourse to confess to one another what they have committed. In the mean while there are Persons standing at a proper Place without the Jail, to hear and to take Notice of their Words ; who, when there is need, are attended by a Notary.

Or else the Person, who thus treacherously draws out any Thing, according to his Desire, from his Fellow-Prisoners, prays the Jail-keeper, when according to Custom he is visiting his Prisoners, to desire that he may have an Audience. And when he goes out of his Jail to give an Account of his Office, he discovers not only what he heard from any of the Prisoners, but also how they received the Doctrine proposed to them ;
 whether

whether with a chearful or angry Countenance, and the like; if they refused to give them an Answer, and what they themselves think of them. And the Accusations of such a Wretch they look on as the best and most unexceptionable Evidence, altho' the Person be otherwise one of no manner of Worth, Credit or Regard.

They who have been lately in the Prison of the Inquisition in *Spain* and *Portugal*, tell us of another Method they make use of to draw a Confession from the Prisoners, *viz.* The Inquisitor suborns a certain Person to go and speak to the Prisoner, and to tell him he comes of himself, and of his own Accord, and to exhort him to tell the Inquisitor the Truth, because he is a merciful Man, and such fine Tales. This is now particularly the Custom in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as to those they call the new Christians. If the Prisoner affirms himself to be a Catholick, and denies that he is a *Jew*, and is not convicted by a sufficient Number of Witnesses, they suborn one to persuade him to confess. If he protests himself innocent, the other replies, that he also hath been in Jail, and that his protesting his Innocence signified nothing. What, had you rather dwell for ever in Jail, and render your Life miserable, by being ever parted from your Wife and Children, than redeem your Freedom, by confessing the Crime? By this, and other like Things, the Prisoners are oftentimes persuaded to confess not only real, but fictitious Crimes. And when their Constancy is thus almost overcome, the Inquisitor commands them to be brought before him, that they may make him a Confession of their Faults.

After these Examinations, if the Prisoner persists in the Negative, he is admitted to his Defence,

fence, and hath an Advocate or Proctor appointed him, but such only as the Inquisitors allow him; and who, as soon as ever they know the Prisoners are criminal, bind themselves by Oath to throw up their Defence. A Copy of the Accusation is usually given to the Prisoner, to which he must answer Article by Article; and likewise a Copy of the Proofs, but not of the Names of the Witnesses, nor any Circumstances by which they may discover who they are, for fear the Witnesses should be in danger if known.

After the Process is thus carried on, it is finished in this Manner: Either by Absolution, if the Prisoner be found really innocent, or the Accusation against him not fully proved. Not that they pronounce such Person free from Heresy, but only declare that nothing is legally proved against him, on account of which he ought to be pronounced an Heretick, or suspected of Heresy; and that therefore he is wholly released from his present Trial and Inquisition. But if notwithstanding this, he should afterwards be accused of the same Crime, he may be again judged and condemned for it; and this Absolution will stand him in no stead.

If the Party accused is found to be only defamed for Heresy, and not convicted of Heresy by any legal Proofs, he is not absolved, but enjoined Canonical Purgation. The Manner of the Purgation is this: The Party accused must produce several Witnesses, good and Catholick Men, who must swear by God, and the four Holy Gospels of God, that they firmly believe he hath not been an Heretick, or Believer of their Errors; and that he hath sworn the Truth, in denying it upon Oath. If he fails in his Purgation, *i. e.* can't procure such a Number of Pur-
gers

gers as he is injoined, he is esteemed as Convict, and condemned as an Heretick.

If the Person accused is not found guilty by his own Confession, or proper Witnesses; yet if he can't make his Innocence appear plainly to the Inquisitor, or if he is caught contradicting himself, or faltering, or trembling, or sweating, or pale, or crying; or if there be half Proof of his Crime, he is put to the Question or Torture. And this Liberty the Inquisitors sometimes shamefully abuse, by torturing the most innocent Persons; as appears by the following Instance.

“ A noble Lady, *Joan Boborquia*, the Wife of *Gonsalv.*
 “ *Francis Varquius*, a very eminent Man, and *P. 181.*
 “ Lord of *Higuera*, and Daughter of *Peter Garfia*
 “ *Xeresius*, a wealthy Citizen of *Seville*, was ap-
 “ prehended, and put into the Inquisition at *Se-*
 “ *vile*. The Occasion of her Imprisonment was,
 “ that her Sister, *Mary Boborquia*, a young Lady
 “ of eminent Piety, who was afterwards burnt
 “ for her pious Confession, had declared in her
 “ Torture that she had several Times conversed
 “ with her Sister concerning her own Doctrine.
 “ When she was first imprisoned, she was about
 “ six Months gone with Child; upon which Ac-
 “ count she was not so straitly confined, nor used
 “ with that Cruelty which the other Prisoners
 “ were treated with, out of regard to the Infant
 “ she carried in her. Eight Days after her De-
 “ livery they took the Child from her, and on
 “ the fifteenth shut her close up, and made her
 “ undergo the Fate of the other Prisoners, and
 “ began to manage her Cause with their usual
 “ Arts and Rigour. In so dreadful a Calamity
 “ she had only this Comfort, that a certain pious
 “ young Woman, who was afterwards burnt for
 “ her Religion by the Inquisitors, was allowed her
 “ for

“ for her Companion. This young Creature
 “ was, on a certain Day, carried out to her
 “ Torture, and being returned from it into her
 “ Jail, she was so shaken, and had all her Limbs
 “ so miserably disjointed, that when she laid upon
 “ her Bed of Rushes, it rather encreased her
 “ Misery than gave her Rest, so that she could
 “ not turn her self without the most excessive
 “ Pain. In this Condition, as *Bohorquia* had it
 “ not in her Power to shew her any, or but very
 “ little outward Kindness, she endeavoured to
 “ comfort her Mind with great Tenderness.
 “ The Girl had scarce began to recover from her
 “ Torture, when *Bohorquia* was carried out to
 “ the same Exercise, and was tortured with such
 “ diabolical Cruelty upon the Rack, that the
 “ Rope pierced and cut into the very Bones of
 “ her Arms, Thighs, and Legs; and in this
 “ Manner she was brought back to Prison, just
 “ ready to expire, the Blood immediately run-
 “ ning out of her Mouth in great Plenty. Un-
 “ doubtedly they had burst her Bowels, inso-
 “ much that the eighth Day after her Torture
 “ she died. And when after all they could not
 “ procure sufficient Evidence to condemn her,
 “ tho’ sought after and procured by all their
 “ Inquisitorial Arts; yet, as the accused Person
 “ was born in that Place, where they were ob-
 “ liged to give some Account of the Affair to the
 “ People, and indeed could not by any Means
 “ dissemble it; in the first Act of Triumph ap-
 “ pointed after her Death, they commanded her
 “ Sentence to be pronounced in these Words:
 “ Because this Lady died in Prison (without
 “ doubt suppressing the Causes of it) and was
 “ found to be innocent upon inspecting and di-
 “ ligently examining her Cause, therefore the
 “ holy

“ holy Tribunal, pronounces her free from all
 “ Charges brought against her by the Fiscal, and
 “ absolving her from any farther Process, doth
 “ restore her both as to her Innocence and Re-
 “ putation; and commands all her Effects, which
 “ had been confiscated, to be restored to those
 “ to whom they of Right belonged, &c. And
 “ thus after they had murdered her by Torture,
 “ with savage Cruelty, they pronounced her in-
 “ nocent.”

After the Sentence of Torture is pronounced,
 the Officers prepare themselves to inflict it.
 “ The Place of Torture in the *Spanish* Inqui-Gonsalvz
 “ sition is generally an under-ground and very p. 65, 66,
 “ dark Room, to which one enters thro’ several
 “ Doors. There is a Tribunal erected in it, in
 “ which the Inquisitor, Inspector, and Secretary
 “ sit. When the Candles are lighted, and the
 “ Person to be tortured brought in, the Exe-
 “ cutioner, who was waiting for him, makes a
 “ very astonishing and dreadful Appearance. He
 “ is covered all over with a black Linnen Gar-
 “ ment down to his Feet, and tied close to his
 “ Body. His Head and Face are all hid with
 “ a long black Cowl, only two little Holes being
 “ left in it for him to see through. All this is
 “ intended to strike the miserable Wretch with
 “ greater Terror in Mind and Body, when he
 “ sees himself going to be tortured by the Hands
 “ of one who thus looks like the very Devil.”

The Degrees of Torture formerly used, were
 principally three: First, by Stripping and Bind-
 ing. Secondly, by being hoisted up on the Rack.
 Thirdly, Squassation.

This Stripping is performed without any Re-
 gard to Humanity or Honour, not only to Men,
 but to Women and Virgins, tho’ the most vir-

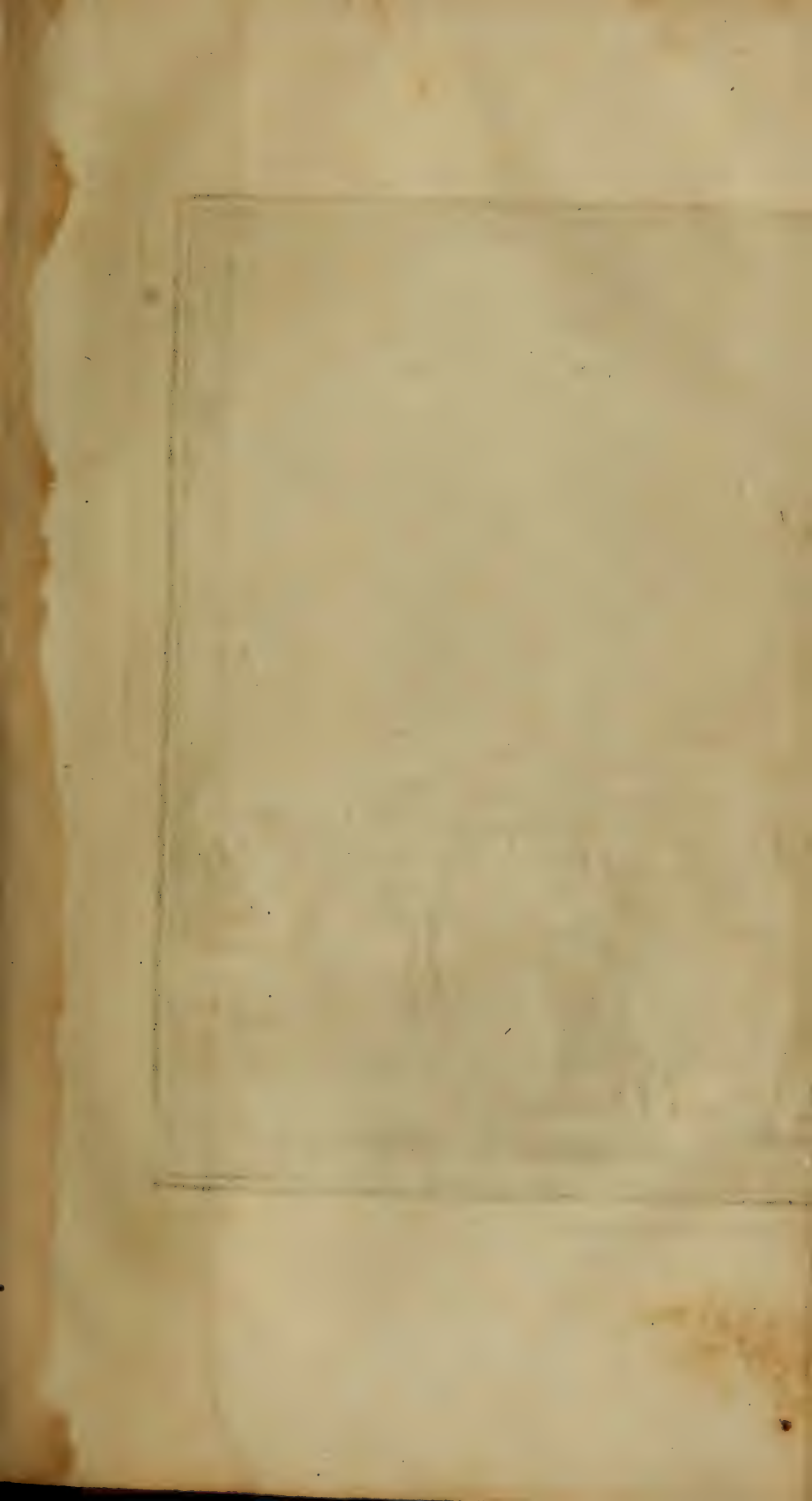
tuous and chaste, of whom they have sometimes many in their Prisons. For they cause them to be stripped, even to their very Shifts; which they afterwards take off (forgive the Expression) even to their *Pudenda*, and then put on them strait Linnen Drawers, and then make their Arms naked quite up to their Shoulders. As to Squasfaction, 'tis thus performed: The Prisoner hath his Hands bound behind his Back, and Weights tied to his Feet, and then he is drawn up on high, till his Head reaches the very Pulley. He is kept hanging in this Manner for some time, that by the Greatness of the Weight hanging at his Feet, all his Joints and Limbs may be dreadfully stretched; and on a sudden he is let down with a Jirk, by the slackening the Rope, but kept from coming quite to the Ground; by which terrible Shake his Arms and Legs are all disjointed, whereby he is put to the most exquisite Pain; the Shock which he receives by the sudden Stop of his Fall, and the Weight at his Feet, stretching his whole Body more intensely and cruelly.

23. The Author of the History of the Inquisition at Goa tells us, that the Torture now practised in the *Portugueze* Inquisition is exceeding cruel. *In the Months of November and December, I heard every Day in the Morning the Cries and Groans of those who were put to the Question, which is so very cruel, that I have seen several of both Sexes who have been ever after lame. In this Tribunal they regard neither Age nor Sex, nor Condition of Persons, but all without Distinction are tortured, when 'tis for the Interest of this Tribunal.*

The Method of Torturing, and the Degree of Tortures now used in the *Spanish* Inquisition, will be well understood from the History of *Isaac Orobio*, a Jew, and Doctor of Physick, who was

was accused to the Inquisition as a *Jew*, by a certain *Moor* his Servant, who had by his Order before this been whipped for Thieving; and four Years after this he was again accused by a certain Enemy of his for another Fact, which would have proved him a *Jew*. But *Orobio* obstinately denied that he was one. I will here give the Account of his Torture, as I had it from his own Mouth. After three whole Years which he had been in Jail, and several Examinations, and the Discovery of the Crimes to him of which he was accused, in order to his Confession, and his constant Denial of them, he was at length carried out of his Jail, and thro' several Turnings brought to the Place of Torture. This was towards the Evening. It was a large under-ground Room, arched, and the Walls covered with black Hangings. The Candlesticks were fastened to the Wall, and the whole Room enlighthned with Candles placed in them. At one End of it there was an inclosed Place like a Closet, where the Inquisitor and Notary sat at a Table; so that the Place seemed to him as the very Mansion of Death, every Thing appearing so terrible and awful. Here the Inquisitor again admonished him to confess the Truth, before his Torments began. When he answered he had told the Truth, the Inquisitor gravely protested, that since he was so obstinate as to suffer the Torture, the holy Office would be innocent, if he should shed his Blood, or even expire in his Torments. When he had said this, they put a Linnen Garment over his Body, and drew it so very close on each Side, as almost squeezed him to Death. When he was almost dying, they slackned at once the Sides of the Garment; and after he began to breathe again, the sudden Al-

teration put him to the most grievous Anguish and Pain. When he had overcome this Torture, the same Admonition was repeated, that he would confess the Truth, in order to prevent farther Torment. And as he persisted in his Denial, they tied his Thumbs so very tite with small Cords, as made the Extremities of them greatly swell, and caused the Blood to spurt out from under his Nails. After this he was placed with his Back against a Wall, and fixed upon a little Bench. Into the Wall were fastened little Iron Pullies, thro' which there were Ropes drawn, and tied round his Body in several Places, and especially his Arms and Legs. The Executioner drawing these Ropes with great Violence, fastened his Body with them to the Wall; so that his Hands and Feet, and especially his Fingers and Toes being bound so straitly with them, put him to the most exquisite Pain, and seemed to him just as though he had been dissolving in Flames. In the midst of these Torments the Torturer, of a sudden, drew the Bench from under him, so that the miserable Wretch hung by the Cords without any Thing to support him, and by the Weight of his Body drew the Knots yet much closer. After this a new kind of Torture succeeded. There was an Instrument like a small Ladder, made of two upright Pieces of Wood, and five cross ones sharpened before. This the Torturer placed over against him, and by a certain proper Motion struck it with great Violence against both his Shins; so that he received upon each of them at once five violent Strokes, which put him to such intolerable Anguish that he fainted away. After he came to himself, they inflicted on him the last Torture. The Torturer tied Ropes about Orobio's Wrists, and then put those Ropes about his





The Torture used in the Inquisition.

his own Back, which was covered with Leather, to prevent his hurting himself. Then falling backwards, and putting his Feet up against the Wall, he drew them with all his Might, till they cut thro' *Orobio's* Flesh, even to the very Bones; and this Torture was repeated thrice, the Ropes being tied about his Arms about the Distance of two Fingers Breadth from the former Wound, and drawn with the same Violence. But it happen'd, that as the Ropes were drawing the second Time, they slid into the first Wound; which caused so great an Effusion of Blood, that he seemed to be dying. Upon this the Physician and Surgeon, who are always ready, were sent for out of a neighbouring Apartment, to ask their Advice, whether the Torture could be continued without danger of Death, lest the Ecclesiastical Judges should be guilty of an Irregularity, if the Criminal should die in his Torments. They, who were far from being Enemies to *Orobio*, answered, that he had Strength enough to endure the rest of the Torture, and hereby preserved him from having the Tortures he had already endured repeated on him, because his Sentence was, that he should suffer them all at one Time, one after another. So that if at any time they are forced to leave off thro' fear of Death, all the Tortures, even those already suffered, must be successively inflicted, to satisfy the Sentence. Upon this the Torture was repeated the third Time, and then it ended. After this he was bound up in his own Clothes, and carried back to his Prison, and was scarce healed of his Wounds in seventy Days. And inasmuch as he made no Confession under his Torture, he was condemned, not as one convicted, but suspected of *Judaism*, to wear for two whole Years the infamous Habit called

Sambenito, and after that Term to perpetual Banishment from the Kingdom of *Seville*.

p. 19.

Gonsalv.
p. 76, 77.

Ernestus Eremundus Frisius, in his History of the Low Country Disturbances, gives us an Account from *Gonsalvius*, of another Kind of Torture. There is a Wooden Bench, which they call the Wooden Horse, made hollow like a Trough, so as to contain a Man lying on his Back at full Length; about the Middle of which there is a round Bar laid across, upon which the Back of the Person is placed, so that he lies upon the Bar instead of being let into the Bottom of the Trough, with his Feet much higher than his Head. As he is lying in this Posture, his Arms, Thighs and Shins are tied round with small Cords or Strings, which being drawn with Screws at proper Distances from each other, cut into the very Bones, so as to be no longer discerned *. Besides this, the Torturer throws over his Mouth and Nostrils a thin Cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe thro' them; and in the meanwhile a small Stream of Water like a Thread, not Drop by Drop, falls from on high, upon the Mouth of the Person lying in this miserable Condition, and so easily sinks down the thin Cloth to the Bottom of his Throat; so that there is no Possibility of breathing, his Mouth being stopped with Water, and his Nostrils with the Cloth; so that the poor Wretch is in the same Agony as Persons ready to die, and breathing out their last. When this Cloth is drawn out of his Throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the Questions, it is all wet with Water and Blood, and is like pulling his Bowels thro' his Mouth. There is

* These two Methods of Punishment seem to be taken from the two different Forms of the antient *Eculeus*.

also another Kind of Torture peculiar to this Tribunal, which they call the Fire. They order a large Iron Chafin-dish full of lighted Charcoal to be brought in, and held close to the Soles of the tortured Person's Feet, greased over with Lard, so that the Heat of the Fire may more quickly pierce thro' them.

This is Inquisition by Torture, when there is only half full Proof of their Crime. However, at other Times Torments are sometimes inflicted upon Persons condemned to Death, as a Punishment preceding that of Death. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in *William Lithgow*, an *Englishman*, who, as he tells us in his *Travels*, was taken up as a Spy in *Mallagom*, a City of *Spain*, and was exposed to the most cruel Torments upon the Wooden Horse. But when nothing could be extorted from him, he was delivered to the Inquisition as an Heretick, because his Journal abounded with Blasphemies against the Pope and the Virgin *Mary*. When he confessed himself a Protestant before the Inquisitor, he was admonished to convert himself to the *Roman Church*, and was allowed eight Days to deliberate on it. In the mean while the Inquisitor and Jesuits came to him often, sometimes wheedling him, sometimes threatening and reproaching him, and sometimes arguing with him. At length they endeavour'd to overcome his Constancy by kind Assurances and Promises: But all in vain. And therefore as he was immoveably fixed, he was condemned, in the Beginning of *Lent*, to suffer the Night following eleven most cruel Torments; and after *Easter* to be carried privately to *Granada*, there to be burnt at Midnight, and his Ashes to be scattered into the Air. When Night came on his Fetters were taken off, then he was

stripped naked, put upon his Knees, and his Hands lifted up by Force; after which opening his Mouth with Iron Instruments, they filled his Belly with Water till it came out of his Jaws. Then they tied a Rope hard about his Neck, and in this Condition rolled him seven times the whole Length of the Room, till he was almost quite strangled. After this they tied a small Cord about both his great Toes, and hung him up thereby with his Head towards the Ground, and then cut the Rope about his Neck, letting him remain in this Condition, till all the Water discharged it self out of his Mouth; so that he was laid on the Ground as just dead, and had his Irons put on him again. But beyond all Expectation, and by a very singular Accident, he was deliver'd out of Jail, escaped Death, and fortunately sail'd home to *England*. But this Method of Torturing doth not belong to this Place, where we are treating only of the Inquisition of a Crime not yet fully proved.

If when the Person is decently tortured he confesses nothing, he is allowed to go away free; and if he demands of his Judges that he be cleared by Sentence, they can't deny it him; and they pronounce, that having diligently examined the Merits of the Process, they find nothing of the Crime of which he was accused legally proved against him.

But if, when under the Question, he confesses, 'tis written in the Process; after which he is carried to another Place, where he hath no View of the Tortures, and there his Confession made during his Torments is read over to him, and he is interrogated several Times, till the Confession be made. But here *Gonsalvus* observes, that when the Prisoner is carried to Audience, they

they make him pass by the Door of the Room where the Torture is inflicted, where the Executioner shews himself on purpose to be seen in that Shape of a Devil I have described before, that as he passes by, he may, by seeing him, be forced to feel, as it were over again, his past Torments.

If there be very strong Evidence against the Criminal, if new Proofs arise, if the Crime objected to him be very heinous, and the Discoveries against him undoubted; if he was not sufficiently tortured before, he may be tortured again, but then only *when his Mind and Body are able to endure it.*

If he doth not persist in his first Confession, and is not sufficiently tortured, he may be put to the Torture again; not by way of Repetition, but Continuation of it.

But if he persists in his Confession, owns his Fault, and asks Pardon of the Church, he is condemned as guilty of Heresy by his own Confession, but as penitent. But if he obstinately persists in Heresy, he is condemned, and delivered over to the secular Arm to be punished with Death. If he confesses any Thing by Torture, he must be forced to abjure it.

When a Person accused of Heresy is found to be only slightly suspected of it, he is considered either as suspected publicly or privately. If he is publicly suspected, this was formerly the Manner of his Abjuration. On the preceding Lord's Day the Inquisitor proclaims, that on such a Day he will make a Sermon concerning the Faith, commanding all to be present at it. When the Day comes, the Person to abjure is brought to the Church, in which the Council hath determined that he shall make his Abjuration. There
he

he is placed upon a Scaffold, erected near the Altar, in the midst of the People, and is not allowed to sit, but stands on it, that all may see him, bare-headed, and with the Keepers standing round him. The Sermon being made on the Mass, to the People and Clergy there present, the Inquisitor says publickly, that the Person there placed on the Scaffold is suspected, from such and such Appearances and Actions, of the Heresy that hath been refuted in the publick Sermon; and that therefore 'tis fit that he should purge himself from it, by abjuring it, as one slightly suspected. Having said this, a Book of the Gospels is placed before him; on which laying his Hands, he abjures his Heresy. In this Oath he not only swears that he holds that Faith which the *Roman* Church believes, but also that he abjures every Heresy that extols it self against the holy *Roman* and Apostolick Church; and particularly the Heresy of which he was slightly suspected, naming that Heresy: And that if he shall do any of the aforesaid Things for the future, he willingly submits to the Penalties appointed by Law to one who thus abjures, and is ready to undergo every Penance, as well for the Things he hath said and done, as for those concerning which he is deservedly suspected of Heresy, which they shall lay on him; and that with all his Power he will endeavour to fulfil it.

If he hath not been publickly suspected, he abjures privately after the same Manner in the Episcopal Palace, or Inquisitors Hall.

If he is vehemently suspected, he is placed in like manner upon a Scaffold; and after he hath taken his Oath upon the Gospels, his Abjuration is delivered him in Writing, to read before all the People, if he can. If he can't read, the

Notary,

Notary, or some Religious, or Clergyman reads it by Sentences, pausing between each till the other hath repeated it after him; and so on, till the whole Abjuration is gone through. In this Abjuration he submits himself to the Punishments due to Relapses, if he ever after falls into the Heresy he hath abjured. After the Abjuration is made, the Bishop admonishes him, that if ever hereafter he doth, or says any Thing by which it can be proved, that he hath fallen into the Heresy he hath abjured, he will be delivered over to the secular Court without Mercy. Then he enjoins him Penance, and commands him to observe it; adding this Threarning, that otherwise he will become a Relapse, and may, and ought to be judged as an Impenitent. However, suspected Persons, whether it be slightly or vehemently, are not condemned to wear Crosses, nor to perpetual Imprisonment, because these are the Punishments of penitent Hereticks; tho' sometimes they are ordered to wear for a while the *Sambenito*, according to the Nature of their Offence. Ordinarily they are injoin'd to stand on certain holy Days in the Gates of such and such Churches, holding a burning Taper of such a Weight in their Hands, and to go a certain Pilgrimage; sometimes also they are imprisoned for a while, and afterwards disposed of as is thought proper.

Gonsalvius gives us some Instances of these Punishments. " There was at *Seville* a certain poor Man, who daily maintained himself and his Family by the Sweat of his Brows. A certain Parson detained his Wife from him by Violence, neither the Inquisition nor any other Tribunal punishing this heinous Injury. As the poor Man was one Day talking about Pur-

gatory,

" gatory, with some other Persons of his own
 " Circumstances, he happened to say, rather
 " out of rustick Simplicity than any certain De-
 " sign, that he truly had enough of Purgatory
 " already, by the rascally Parson's violently de-
 " taining from him his Wife. This Speech was
 " reported to the good Parson, and gave him an
 " Handle to double the poor Man's Injury, by
 " accusing him to the Inquisitors, as having a
 " false Opinion concerning Purgatory. And
 " this the holy Tribunal thought more worthy
 " of Punishment than the Parson's Wickedness.
 " The poor Wretch was taken up for this trifling
 " Speech, kept in the Inquisitors Jail for two
 " whole Years, and at length being brought in
 " Proceßion, was condemned to wear the *Sam-*
 " *benito* for three Years in a private Jail; and
 " when they were expired, to be dismissed, or
 " kept longer in Prison, as the Lords Inqui-
 " sitors should think fit. Neither did they spare
 " the poor Creature any thing of his little Sub-
 " stance, tho' they did his Wife to the Parson,
 " but adjudged all the Remains of what he had
 " after his long Imprisonment to the Exchequer
 " of the Inquisition.

195.

" In the same Proceßion there was also brought
 " forth a reputable Citizen of *Seville*, as being
 " suspected of *Lutheranism*, without his Cloak and
 " his Hat, and carrying a Wax Taper in his
 " Hand, after having exhausted his Purse of 100
 " Ducats towards the Expences of the holy Tri-
 " bunal, and a Year's Imprisonment in the Jail
 " of the Inquisition, and having abjured as one
 " vehemently suspected; only because he was
 " found to have said, that those immoderate Ex-
 " pences (and on these Accounts the *Spaniards*
 " are prodigiously extravagant) which were laid
 " out

“ out in erecting those large Paper or Linnen
 “ Buildings, which the common People corruptly
 “ call Monuments, to the Honour of Christ now
 “ in Heaven, upon *Holy Thursday*; and also those
 “ which were expended on the Festival of *Corpus*
 “ *Christi*, would be more acceptable to God, if
 “ they were laid out upon poor Persons, or in
 “ placing out to good Persons poor Orphan Girls.
 “ Two young Students added to the Number in p. 196.
 “ that Procession. One because he had written
 “ in his Pocket-Book some Verses made by a
 “ nameless Author, so artificially, as that the
 “ same Words might be interpreted so as to con-
 “ tain the highest Commendation of, or Re-
 “ flection upon *Luther*. Upon this Account
 “ only, after two Years Imprisonment, he was
 “ brought forth in Procession, without his Hat
 “ and Cloak, carrying a Wax-Taper; after
 “ which he was banished for three Years from
 “ the whole Country of *Seville*, made to abjure
 “ as lightly suspected, and punished with a Fine.
 “ The other underwent the same Censure, only
 “ for transcribing the Verses for their artful
 “ Composition, excepting only that he commu-
 “ ted his Banishment for 100 Ducats towards
 “ the Expences of the holy Tribunal.”

If any one informed against confesses on Oath
 his Heresy, but declares that he will abjure and
 return to the Church, he must publickly abjure
 in the Church before all the People. There is
 placed before him the Book of the Gospels; he
 puts off his Hat, falls on his Knees, and putting
 his Hand on the Book, reads his Abjuration.
 And from this none, tho’ otherwise privileged,
 are excepted. After this Abjuration they are
 absolved from Excommunication, and reconciled
 to the Church; but are enjoined various Punish-
 ments,

ments, or wholesome Penances by the Inquisitors at pleasure. What the Punishments of religious Persons are, may be seen from the two following Instances.

Friar *Marcellus de Pratis*, a Religious of the Order of the *Minors*, was condemned in *Sicily* by the Inquisition (because he had rashly feigned himself a Saint, impeccable, confirmed in Grace, and had pronounced other scandalous and rash Propositions) to the Gallies for three Years, to be banished for two more into such a Convent of his own Religion as should be assigned him, with this Addition; that he should fast every *Friday* on Bread and Water, eat upon the Ground in the Refectory, walk without his Hat, and sit in the lowest Place in the Choir and Refectory, and be perpetually deprived of his active and passive Vote, and of the Faculty of hearing any Persons Confessions whatsoever.

One *Mary* of the Annunciation, Prioress of the Monastery of the Annunciation at *Lisbon*, a Maid of 32 Years old, had pretended that the Wounds of Christ, by the special Grace and Privilege of God were imprinted on her, and shewed 32 Wounds made on her Head, representing the Marks of those which were made by our Saviour's Crown of Thorns, and Blood sprinkled on her Hands like a Rose, the Middle of which was like a Triangle, and shewed the Holes of the Nails narrower on one Side than the other. The same were to be seen in her Feet. Her Side appeared as tho' it had been laid open by the Blow of a Lance. When all these Things were openly shewn, it was wonderful to see how they raised the Admiration and Devotion of serious and holy Men, and withal surprized and deceived them; for she did not suffer those pretended Wounds

to be seen otherwise than by Command of her Confessor. And that absent Persons might have a great Veneration for her, she affirmed, that on *Thursdays* she put into the Wounds a small Cloth, which received the Impression of five Wounds in Form of a Cross, that in the Middle being the largest. Upon which these Cloths were sent, with the greatest Veneration, thro' the infinite Devotion of the Faithful, to the Pope, and to almost all the most venerable and religious Persons of the whole World. And as *Paramus* then had the Administration of the Causes of Faith in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, he saw several of those Cloths, and the Picture of that Woman drawn to the Life; and a Book written by a Person of great Authority concerning her Life, Sanctity, and Miracles. Yea, Pope *Gregory XIII.* himself determined to write Letters to that wretched Creature, to exhort her thereby to persist with Constancy in her Course, and to perfect what she had begun. At last the Imposture was found out, that the Marks of the Wounds were not real, but made with red Lead; and that the Woman's Design was, when she had gained Authority and Credit enough, by her pretended Sanctity, to recover the Kingdom of *Portugal* to its former State, which had legally fallen under the Power of *Philip II.* Upon this the following Sentence was pronounced against her by the Inquisitors of *Lisbon*, December 8. An. 1588. First, she was commanded to pass the rest of her Life shut up in a Convent of another Order, that was assigned to her, without the City of *Lisbon*. Likewise, that from the Day of pronouncing the Sentence, she should not receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist for the Space of five Years, three *Easters*, and the Hour of Death excepted; or unless it were

were necessary to obtain any Jubilee, that should in the mean while be granted by the Pope. Likewise, that on all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* of the whole Year, when the religious Women of that Convent held a Chapter, she should be whipped, whilst the Psalm, *Have Mercy on me, O God*, was reciting. Likewise, that she should not sit down at Table at the Time of Refreshment, but should eat publickly on the Pavement, all being forbidden to eat any Thing she left. She was also obliged to throw her self down at the Door of the Refectory, that the Nuns might tread on her as they came in and went out. Likewise, that she should perpetually observe the Ecclesiastical Fast, and never more be created an Abbess, nor be chosen to any other Office in the Convent where she had dwelt, and that she should be always subject to the lowest of them all. Likewise, that she should never be allowed to converse with any Nun without Leave of the Abbess. Likewise, that all the Rags marked with Drops of Blood, which she had given out, her spurious Relicks, and her Effigies describing her, should be every where delivered to the holy Inquisition; or if in any Place there was no Tribunal of the Inquisition, to the Prelate, or any other Person appointed. Likewise, that she should never cover her Head with the sacred Veil; and that every *Wednesday* and *Friday* of the whole Year she should abstain from Meat, and live only on Bread and Water; and that as often as she came into the Refectory, she should pronounce her Crime with a loud Voice in the Presence of all the Nuns.

Michael Piedrola also took upon himself for many Years the Name of a Prophet, boasted of Dreams and Revelations, and affirmed they were revealed to him by a divine Voice. Being convicted

victed of so great a Crime, he abjured *de levi*, was for ever forbid the reading of the Bible, and other holy Books, deprived of Paper and Ink, prohibited from writing or receiving Letters, unless such only as related to his private Affairs; denied the Liberty of disputing about the holy Scripture, as well in Writing as in Discourse; and finally, commanded to be thrown into Jail, and there pass the Remainder of his Life.

Another Punishment of Hereticks who abjure, is the Confiscation of all their Effects. And this Confiscation is made with such Rigour, that the Inquisition orders the Exchequer to seize on not only the Effects of the Persons condemned, but also all others administred by them, altho' it evidently appears that they belong to others. The Inquisition at *Seville* gives a remarkable Instance of this Kind.

“ *Nicholas Burton*, an *Englishman*, a Person remarkable for his Piety, was apprehended by the Inquisition of *Seville*, and afterwards burnt for his immoveable Perseverance in the Confession of his Faith, and Detestation of their Impiety. When he was first seized, all his Effects and Merchandizes, upon account of which he came to *Spain*, were, according to the Custom of the Inquisition, sequestred. Amongst these were many other Merchandizes, which were consigned to him as Factor, according to the Custom of Merchants, by another *English* Merchant dwelling in *London*. This Merchant, upon hearing that his Factor was imprisoned, and his Effects seized on, sent one *John Fronton*, as his Attorney, into *Spain*, with proper Instruments to recover his Goods. His Attorney accordingly went to *Seville*; and having laid before the holy Tribunal the Instruments, and

all other necessary Writings, demanded that
 the Goods should be delivered to him. The
 Lords answered, that the Affair must be managed in Writing, and that he must chuse himself an Advocate (undoubtedly to prolong the Suit) and out of their great Goodness appointed him one, to draw up for him his Petitions, and all other Instruments which were to be offer'd to the holy Tribunal; for every one of which they exorbitantly took from him eight Reals, altho' he received no more Advantage from them, than if they had never been drawn at all. *Frontom* waited for three or four whole Months, twice every Day, viz. in the Morning, and after Dinner, at the Gates of the Inquisitor's Palace, praying and beseeching, on his bended Knees, the Lords Inquisitors, that his Affair might be expedited; and especially the Lord Bishop of *Tarraco*, who was then chief Inquisitor at *Seville*, that he, in Virtue of his supreme Authority, would command his Effects to be restored to him. But the Prey was too large and rich to be easily recovered. After he had spent four whole Months in fruitless Prayers and Intreaties, he was answered, that there was need of some other Writings from *England*, more ample than those he had brought before, in order to the Recovery of the Effects. Upon this the *Englishman* immediately returns to *London*, and procures the Instruments of fuller Credit which they demanded, comes back with them to *Seville*, and laid them before the holy Tribunal. The Lords put off his Answer, pretending they were hindered by more important Affairs. They repeated this Answer to him every Day, and so put him off for four whole Months longer.

“ When

“ When his Money was almost spent, and he
 “ still continued earnestly to press the Dispatch
 “ of his Affair, they referred him to the Bishop.
 “ The Bishop, when consulted, said he was but
 “ one, and that the expediting the Matter be-
 “ longed also to the other Inquisitors; and by thus
 “ shifting the Fault from one to the other, there
 “ was no Appearance of an End of the Suit. But
 “ at length being overcome by his Importunity,
 “ they fixed on a certain Day to dispatch him.
 “ And the Dispatch was this: The Licentiate
 “ *Gascus*, one of the Inquisitors, a Man well
 “ skill’d in the Frauds of the Inquisition, com-
 “ mands him to come to him after Dinner. The
 “ *Englishman* was pleased with this Message, and
 “ went to him about Evening, believing that
 “ they began to think in good Earnest of restoring
 “ him his Effects, and carrying him to Mr. *Burton*
 “ the Prisoner, in order to make up the Ac-
 “ count; having heard the Inquisitors often say,
 “ tho’ he did not know their real Meaning, that
 “ it was necessary that he and the Prisoner should
 “ confer together. When he came, they com-
 “ manded the Jail-Keeper to clap him up in such
 “ a particular Prison, which they named to him.
 “ The poor *Englishman* believed at first that he
 “ was to be brought to *Burton* to settle the Ac-
 “ count; but soon found himself a Prisoner in
 “ a dark Dungeon, contrary to his Expectation,
 “ and that he had quite mistaken the Matter.
 “ After three or four Days they brought him
 “ to an Audience; and when the *Englishman* de-
 “ manded that the Inquisitors should restore his
 “ Effects to him, they well knowing that it would
 “ agree perfectly with their usual Arts, without
 “ any other Preface, command him to recite his
 “ *Ave Mary*. He simply repeated it after this
 “ Manner:

“ Manner : *Hail, Mary, full of Grace, the Lord*
 “ *is with thee ; blessed art thou amongst Women, and*
 “ *blessed is Jesus the Fruit of thy Womb. Amen.*
 “ All was taken down in Writing, and without
 “ mentioning a Word about the restoring his
 “ Effects (for there was no need of it) they
 “ commanded him back to his Jail, and com-
 “ menced an Action against him for an Heretick,
 “ because he had not repeated the *Ave Mary* ac-
 “ cording to the Manner of the Church of *Rome*,
 “ and had left off in a suspected Place, and ought
 “ to have added; *Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray*
 “ *for us Sinners ;* by omitting which Conclusion,
 “ he plainly discover’d that he did not approve
 “ the Intercession of the Saints. And thus at
 “ last, upon this righteous Pretence, he was de-
 “ tained a Prisoner many Days. After this he
 “ was brought forth in Procession, wearing an
 “ Habit; all his Principal’s Goods for which
 “ he had been suing being confiscated, and he
 “ himself condemned to a Year’s Imprisonment.”

Besides this Confiscation of Effects, they injoin
 them wholesome Penances ; such as Fastings, Pray-
 ers, Alms, the frequent Use of the Sacraments of
 Penance, and the Eucharist ; and, finally, Pilgri-
 mages to certain Places.

Some Penances are honorary, attended with
 Infamy to those who do them. Such are, walking
 in Procession without Shoes, in their Breeches
 and Shirt, and to receive therein publick Dis-
 cipline by the Bishop or Priest ; to be expelled
 the Church, and to stand before the Gates of the
 great Church upon solemn Days, in the Time of
 Mass, with naked Feet, and wearing upon their
 Cloak an Halter about their Neck. At this Time
 they only stand before the Gates of the Church,
 with a lighted Candle in their Hand, during the
 Time

Time of solemn Mass on some holy Day, as the Bell is ringing to Church.

Besides these, they now use the Punishment of Banishment, of beating and whipping with Scourges, or Rods. Sometimes they are condemned to Fines, excluded as infamous from all publick Offices, prohibited from wearing Silver or Gold, precious Garments and Ornaments, and from riding on Horses or Mules with Trappings, as Nobles do.

But the most usual Punishment of all, is their wearing Crosses upon their penitential Garments, which is now frequently enjoined Penitents in *Spain* and *Portugal*. And this is far from being a small Punishment; because such Persons are exposed to the Scoffs and Insults of all, which they are obliged to swallow, tho' the most cruel in themselves, and offered by the vilest of Mankind; for by these Crosses they are marked to all Persons for Heresy, or, as it is now in *Spain* and *Portugal*, for Judaism: And being thus marked, they are avoided by all, and are almost excluded from all human Society.

This Garment was formerly of a black and bluish Colour, like a Monk's Cloak, made without a Cowl, and the Crosses put on them were strait, having one Arm long, and the other across, after this Manner †. Sometimes, according to the Heinousness of the Offence, there were two Arms a-cross, after this Manner ‡. But now in *Spain* this Garment is of a yellow Colour, and the Crosses put on it are oblique, after the Manner of St. *Andrew's* Cross, in this Form X, and are of a red Colour. This Cloak the *Italians* call *Abitello*, the *Spaniards* *Sant Benito*, as tho' it was *Sacco Benito*, i. e. the blessed Sackcloth, because it is fit for Penance, by which we

are blessed and saved. But *Simancas* says, 'tis the Garment of St. *Benedict*.

Finally, the most grievous Punishment is the being condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, there to do wholesome Penance with the Bread of Grief, and the Water of Affliction. This is usually enjoined on the Believers of Hereticks, and such as are difficultly brought to Repentance; or who have a long while denied the Truth during the Trial, or have perjured themselves.

Besides this Condemnation to perpetual Imprisonment, such Persons are also enjoined other Penances, *viz.* Sometimes to stand in the Habit marked with the Cross at the Door of such a Church, such a Time, and so long, *viz.* on the four principal Festivals of the glorious Virgin *Mary*, of such a Church; or on such and such Festivals, at the Gates of such and such Churches. Sometimes before they are shut up in Prison they are publicly exposed, *viz.* being cloathed with the Habit of the Crosses, they are placed upon an high Ladder in the Gate of some Church, that they may be plainly seen by all; where they must stand till Dinner-time; after which they must be carried, cloathed in the same Habit, to the same Place, at the first Ringing to Vespers, and there stand till Sun-set; and these Spectacles are usually repeated on several *Sundays* and Festivals in several Churches, which are particularly specified in their Sentence. But if they break Prison, or do not otherwise fulfil the Penances enjoined them, they are condemned as Impenitents, and as under the Guilt of their former Crimes; and if they fall again into the Hands of the Inquisitors, they are delivered over as Impenitents to the secular Court, unless they humbly
ask

ask Pardon, and profess that they will obey the Commands of the Inquisitors.

However, if Persons remain impenitent till after Sentence is pronounced, there is no farther Place for Pardon. And yet there is one Instance of *Stephana de Proando*, extant in the Book of the Sentences of the *Tholouse* Inquisition, who, being judged an Heretick the Day before, and left as an Heretick to the secular Court (from whence it appears that it was not then usual for those who were left to the secular Court to be burnt the same Day on which the Sentence is pronounced, as is now practised in *Spain* and *Portugal*) seeing on the following Day, viz. *Monday*, that the Fire in which she was to be burnt was made ready, said, on that very Day, that she was willing to be converted to the Catholick Faith, and to return to the Ecclesiastical Unity. And when 'twas doubted whether she spoke this feignedly or sincerely, or thro' fear of Death, and was answered, that the Time of Mercy was elapsed, and that she should think of the Salvation of her Soul, and fully discover whatsoever she knew of her self or others concerning the Fact of Heresy, which she promised to say and do, and that she would die in the Faith of the holy Church of *Rome*; upon this the Inquisitor and Vicars of the Bishop of *Tholouse* called a Council on the following *Tuesday*, and at length it was concluded, that on the following *Sunday* she should confess the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, recant her Errors, and be carried back to Prison, where it would be proved whether her Conversion was real or pretended; and so strictly kept, that she might not be able to infect others with her Errors. *Eymerick* also gives us an Instance at *Barcelona* in n. 204. *Catalonia*, of three Hereticks impenitent, but not relapsed,

relapsed, who were delivered over to the secular Arm. And when one of them, who was a Priest, was put in the Fire, and one of his Sides somewhat burnt, he cried to be taken out of it, because he would abjure and repent. And he was taken out accordingly. But he was afterwards found always to have continued in his Heresy, and to have infected many, and would not be converted; and was therefore turn'd over again, as impenitent and relapsed, to the secular Arm, and burnt.

§. 38.

The Author of the History of the Inquisition at Goa, gives us another Instance of a very rich new Christian, whose Name was *Lewis Pezoe*, who, with his whole Family, had been accused of secret Judaism, by some of his Enemies; and who, with his Wife, two Sons and one Daughter, and some other Relations that lived with him, were all thrown into the Jail of the Inquisition. He denied the Crime of which he was accused, and well refuted it; and demanded that the Witnesses who had deposed against him might be discovered to him, that he might convict them of Falshood. But he could obtain nothing, and was condemned as a Negative, to be delivered over to the Arm of the secular Court; which Sentence was made known to him fifteen Days before it was pronounced. The Duke of *Cadaval*, an intimate Friend of the Duke d'*Aveira*, Inquisitor General, had made strict Inquiry how his Affair was like to turn. And understanding by the Inquisitor General, that unless he confessed before his going out of Prison he could not escape the Fire, because he had been legally convicted, he continued to intreat the Inquisitor General, till he had obtained a Promise from him, that if he could persuade *Pezoe* to confess, even after Sentence

tence pronounced, and his Proceſſion in the Act of Faith, he ſhould not die, tho' it was contrary to the Laws and Cuſtom of an Act of Faith. Upon that ſolemn Day therefore, on which the Act of Faith was to be held, he went with ſome of his own Friends, and ſome that were *Pezoa's*, to the Gate of the Inquiſition, to prevail with him, if poſſible, to confeſs. He came out in the Proceſſion, wearing the infamous Samarre, and on his Head the Caroch, or infamous Mitre. His Friends, with many Tears, beſought him in the Name of the Duke *de Cadaval*, and by all that was dear to him, that he would preſerve his Life; and intimated to him, that if he would confeſs and repent, the ſaid Duke had obtained his Life from the Inquiſitor General, and would give him more than he had loſt. But all in vain; *Pezoa* continually proteſting himſelf innocent, and that the Crime it ſelf was falſly invented by his Enemies, who ſought his Deſtruction. When the Proceſſion was ended, and the Act of Faith almoſt finiſhed, the Sentences of thoſe who were condemned to certain Penances having been read, and on the Approach of Evening the Sentences of thoſe who were to be delivered over to the ſecular Court being begun to be read, his Friends repeated their Intreaties, by which at laſt they overcame his Conſtancy; ſo that deſiring an Audience, and riſing up, that he might be heard, he ſaid, *Come then, let us go and confeſs the Crimes I am falſly accuſed of, and thereby gratify the Deſires of my Friends.* And having confeſſed his Crime, he was remanded to Jail. Two Years after he was ſent to *Evora*, and in the Act of Faith walked in Proceſſion wearing the Samarre, on which was painted the Fire inverted, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *Portugueze* Inquiſition; and after
five

five Years more that he was detained in the Jail of the Inquisition, he was condemned to the Gallies for five Years.

If the Person accused is found a Relapse by his own Confession, he can't escape Death, even tho' he is penitent. If he be in Holy Orders, he is first degraded. After Sentence is pronounced against him, he is delivered to the secular Arm, with this Clause added to his Sentence by the Inquisitors: *Nevertheless, we earnestly beseech the said secular Arm, that he will moderate his Sentence against you, so as to prevent the Effusion of Blood, or Danger of Death:* Thus adding Hypocrisy and Insult to their devilish Barbarity.

If the Person accused be an impenitent Heretic, but not relapsed, he is kept in Chains in close Imprisonment, that he may not escape, or infect others; and in the mean while all Methods must be used for his Conversion. They send Clergymen to instruct him, and to put him in mind of the Pains of Hell-fire. If this won't do, they keep him in Chains for an Year or more, in a close, hard Jail, that his Constancy may be overcome by the Misery of his Imprisonment. If this doth not move him, they use him in a little kinder Manner, and promise him Mercy if he will repent. If they can't thus prevail with him, they suffer his Wife and Children, and little ones, and his other Relations, to come to him, and break his Constancy. But if after all he persists in his Heresy, he is burnt alive.

If the Person accused be found guilty of Heresy by the Evidence of the Fact, or legal Witnesses, and yet doth not confess, but persists in the Negative; after having been kept in Jail for a Year, he must be delivered over to the secular Arm. So that if it should happen that he is accused by
false

false Witnesses, and is really innocent, the miserable Wretch, tho' falsely condemned, is delivered to the Power of the secular Court, to be burnt alive; nor is it lawful for him, without the Commission of mortal Sin, as the *Roman* Doctors think, to save his Life, by falsely confessing a Crime he hath not committed; and therefore 'tis the Duty of the Divines and Confessors, who comfort such a Negative, and attend on him to his Punishment, to persuade him to discover the Truth; but to caution him by all Means not to acknowledge a Crime he hath not committed, to avoid temporal Death; and to put him in Remembrance, that if he patiently endures this Injury and Punishment, he will be crowned as a Martyr.

'Tis however evident, if the Practice of the *Portugal* Inquisition be considered, that the Inquisitors are not so very solicitous about the eternal Salvation of those they condemn, as they are to consult their own Honour by the Criminals Confessions even of false Crimes. Of this we have a remarkable Instance, of a noble *Portuguese*, descended from the Race of the new Christians, who was accused of Judaism. But as he did most firmly deny the Crime objected to him, nothing was omitted that might persuade him to a Confession of it; for he was not only promised his Life, but the Restitution of all his Effects, if he would confess, and threatned with a cruel Death if he persisted in the Negative. But when all this was to no purpose, the Inquisitor General, who had some Respect for him, endeavoured to overcome his Constancy by Wheedling, and other Arguments; but when he constantly refused to confess himself guilty of a Crime he had not committed, the Inquisitor General being at last provoked

provoked by his Firmness, said, *What then do you mean? Do you think that we will suffer our selves to be charged with a Lye?* And having said this, he went off. When the Act of Faith drew near, the Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, and a Confessor allowed him to prepare him for Death. But at last he sunk under the Fear of his approaching dreadful Punishment, and by confessing on the very Day of the Act of Faith the Crime falsely fastened on him, he escaped Death; but all his Estate was confiscated, and he himself condemned for five Years to the Gallies.

If the Person accused is a Fugitive, after waiting for his Appearance a competent Time, he is cited to appear on such a Day in the Cathedral of such a Diocese, and the Citation fixed on the Gates of the Church. If he doth not appear, he is complained of for Contumacy, and accused in Form. When this is done, and the Crime appears, Sentence is pronounced against the Criminal; and if the Information against him be for Heresy, he is declared an obstinate Heretick, and left as such to the secular Arm. This Sentence is pronounced before all the People, and the Statue or Image of the absent Person publicly produced, and carried in Procession; on which is a Supercription, containing his Name and Surname; which Statue is delivered to the secular Power, and by him burnt. Thus *Luther's* Statue was burnt, together with his Books, at the Command of Pope *Leo X.* by the Bishop of *Ascoli.*

The Inquisitors also proceed against the Dead. If there be full Proof against him of having been an Heretick, his Memory is declared infamous, and his Heirs, and other Possessors, deprived of
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his Effects; and finally, his Bones dug out of their Grave, and publickly burnt. Thus *Wickliff's* Body and Bones were ordered to be dug up and burnt, by the Council of *Constance*: *Bucer* and *Fagius*, by Cardinal *Pool*, at *Cambridge*; and the Wife of *Peter Martyr*, by *Brookes* Bishop of *Glocester*, at *Oxford*; whose Body they buried in a Dunghill. And thus *Mark Antony de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, was condemned after his Death for Heresy; and the Inquisitors agreed that the same Punishments should be executed upon his dead Body, as would have been on himself had he been alive.

Having taken this Resolution, the twenty-first Day of *December*, *An. 1624.* was appointed for the pronouncing Sentence. Early in the Morning of it, so vast a Multitude had got together to *St. Mary supra Minervam*, where they generally give these religious Shews, that they were forced not only to shut up, but to guard the Gates with armed Men; and the great *Area* before the Church was so prodigiously thronged, that there was scarce Room for the Cardinals themselves to pass. The middle Isle of the Church, from the first to the fourth Pillar, was boarded in, with Boards above the Height of a tall Man. At the upper and lower End of it there were Gates, guarded by *Switzers*. On each Side there were Scaffolds, running the whole Length of the Inclosure; in which were Seats for the Cardinals and other Prelates, and other Conveniencies, to receive the Courtiers and other Noblemen standing or sitting. On the right Hand, coming in, the sacred Council presided; on the left Hand were placed the inferior Officers of the holy Inquisition, the Governor of the City, and his Officials. Before the Pulpit was to be seen the
Picture

Picture of *Mark Anthony*, drawn in Colours, covered with a black common Garment, holding a Clergyman's Cap in his Hand, with his Name, Surname, and Archiepiscopal Dignity, which formerly he had borne, inscribed upon it, together with a wooden Chest bedaubed with Pitch, in which the dead Body was inclosed. The rest of the Church was filled with Citizens, and a great many Foreigners; the Number of whom was at that Time larger, because the Jubilee that was at hand had brought them from all Parts to the City, that they might be present at the opening the sacred Gates.

Things being thus disposed, a certain Parson mounted the Pulpit, and with a shrill Voice, which rung through all the Parts of the spacious Church, and in the vulgar Language, that the common People might understand him, read over a Summary of the Process, and the Sentence by which the Cardinals Inquisitors General, specially deputed for the Affair by the Pope, pronounced *Mark Anthony*, as a Relapse into Heresy, to have incurred all the Censures and Penalties appointed to relapsed Hereticks by the sacred Canons, and Papal Constitutions; and declared him to be deprived of all Honours, Prerogatives, and Ecclesiastical Dignities, condemned his Memory, and cast him out of the Ecclesiastical Court, delivered over his dead Body and Effigies into the Power of the Governor of the City, that he might inflict on it the Punishment due, according to the Rule and Practice of the Church. And finally, they commanded his impious and heretical Writings to be publicly burnt, and declared all his Effects to be forfeited to the Exchequer of the holy Inquisition. After this Sentence was read, the Governor of the City and his Officers threw
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the Corps, Effigies, and aforesaid Writings into a Cart, and carried them into the *Campo Fiore*, a great Multitude of People following after. When they came there, the dead Body, which as yet in all its Members was whole and entire, was raised out of the Chest as far as the Bottom of the Breast, and shewn from on high to the vast Concourse of People that stood round about; and was afterwards, with the Effigies and Bundle of his Books, thrown into the Pile prepared for the Purpose, and there burnt.

And finally, in order to beget in the common People a greater Abhorrence of the Crime of Heresy, they usually pull down and level with the Ground the Houses or Dwellings in which Hereticks hold their Conventicles, the Ground on which they stood being sprinkled over with Salt, and certain Curses and Imprecations uttered over it. And that there may be a perpetual Monument of its Infamy, a Pillar or Stone, four or five Feet high, is erected in the said Ground, with large Characters on it, containing the Name and Owner of the House, shewing the Reason of its Demolition, and the Reign of what Pope, Emperor or King, the Matter was transacted.

The whole of this horrid Affair is concluded by what they call *an Act of Faith*; which is performed after this Manner. When the Inquisitor is determined to pronounce the Sentences of certain Criminals, he fixes on some Lord's-day or Festival to perform this Solemnity. But they take care that it be not *Advent Sunday*, or in *Lent*, or a very solemn Day, such as the *Nativity of our Lord*, *Easter*, and the like; because 'tis not decent that the Sermons on those Days should be suspended, but that every one should go to his own Parish-Church. A certain *Sunday* or Festival

stival therefore being appointed, the Parsons of all the Churches of that City or Place, in which this Solemnity is to be performed, do, by Command of the Bishop and Inquisitor, when they have done preaching, publicly intimate to the Clergy and People, that the Inquisitor will, in such a Church, hold a general Sermon concerning the Faith; and they promise, in the Name of the Pope, the usual Indulgence of forty Days, to all who will come and see, and hear the Things which are there to be transacted. They take care to give the same Notice in the Houses of those Religious, who commonly preach the Word of God; and that their Superiors should be told, that because the Inquisitor will in such a Church make a general Sermon concerning the Faith, therefore he suspends all other Sermons, that every Superior may send four or two Friars, as he thinks fit, to be present at the Sermon, and the pronouncing the Sentences. This Solemnity was formerly called, *A general Sermon concerning the Faith*; but 'tis now called, *An Act of Faith*. And in this, great Numbers of Persons, sometimes one or two hundred, are brought forth in publick Procession to various Kinds of Penances and Punishments, all wearing the most horrible Habits. They chuse Festivals for this Solemnity, because then there is a greater Confluence of People gathered together to see the Torments and Punishments of the Criminals, that from hence they may learn to fear, and be kept from the Commission of Evil. And indeed, as this Act of Faith is now celebrated in *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Solemnity is truly an horrible and tremendous Spectacle, in which every Thing is designedly made use of that may strike Terror; for this Reason, as they say, that they may hereby give
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some Representation and Image of the future Judgment.

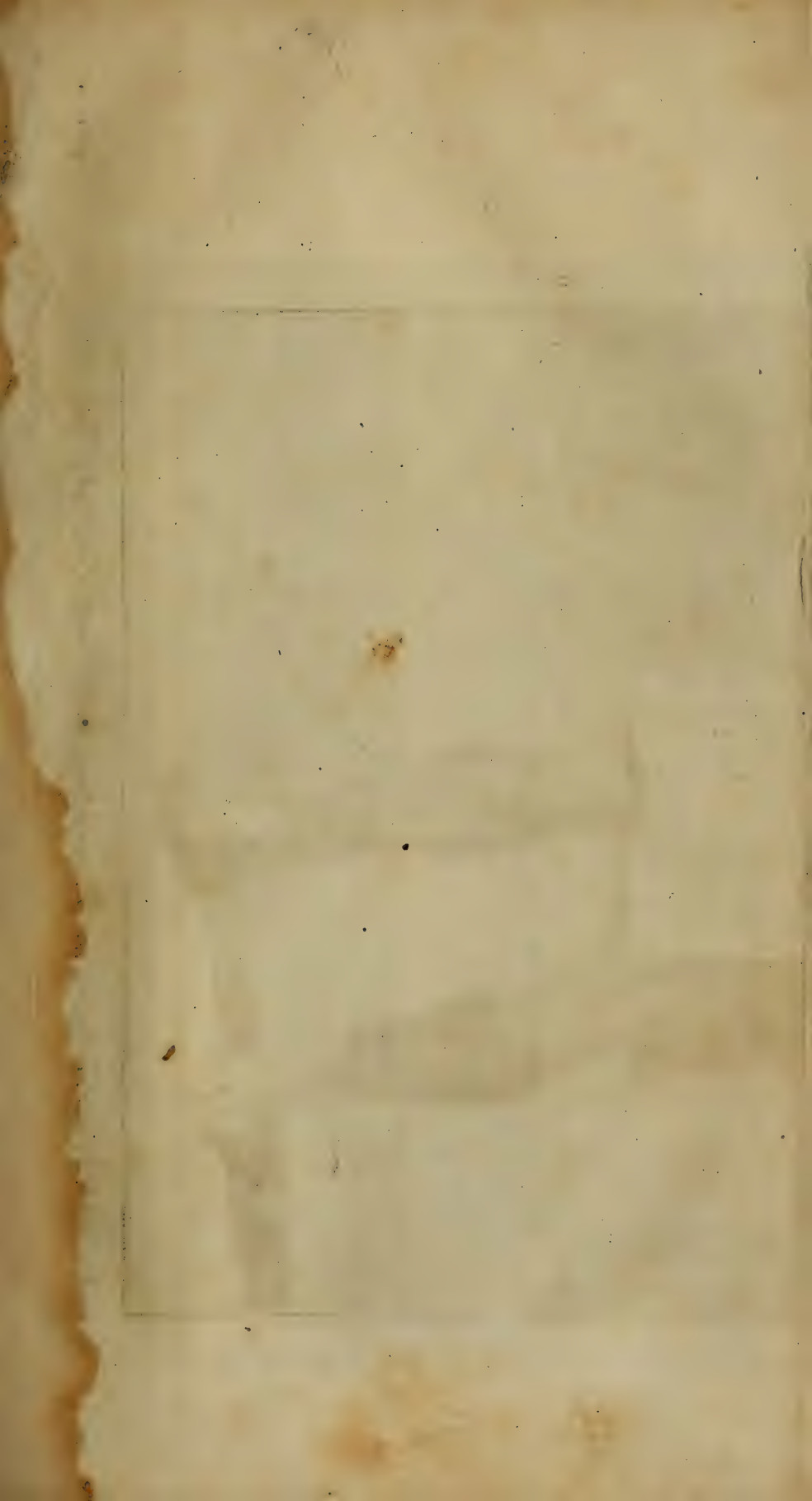
If any one, whether an impenitent or relapsed Heretick, is to be delivered to the secular Court, the Bishop and Inquisitor give Notice to the principal Magistrate of the secular Court, that he must come such a Day and Hour with his Attendance to such a Street or Place, to receive a certain Heretick or relapsed Person out of their Court, whom they will deliver to him; and that he must give publick Notice the same Day, or the Day before in the Morning, by the Crier, throughout the City, in all the usual Places and Streets, that on such a Day and Hour, and in such a Place, the Inquisitor will make a Sermon for the Faith; and that the Bishop and Inquisitor will condemn a certain Heretick or Relapse, by delivering him to the secular Court.

In most of the Tribunals of the Inquisition, especially in *Spain*, 'tis a remarkable Custom they use, *viz.* on the Day before the Acts of Faith, solemnly to carry a Bush to the Place of the Fire, with the Flames of which they are consumed, who deserve the Punishment of being burnt. This is not without its Mysteries; for the burning, and not consuming Bush, signifies the indefectible Splendor of the Church, which burns, and is not consumed; and besides this, it signifies Mercy towards the Penitent, and Severity towards the Froward and Obstinate. And farther, it represents how the Inquisitors defend the Vineyard of the Church, wounding with the Thorns of the Bush, and burning up with Flames all who endeavour to bring Heresies into the Harvest of the Lord's Field. And finally, it points out the Obstinacy and Frowardness of Hereticks, which must rather be broken and bent, like a rugged
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and stubborn Bush; and that as the Thorns and Prickles of the Bush tear the Garments of those who pass by, so also do the Hereticks rend the seamless Coat of Christ.

Besides, the Day before the Criminals are brought out of Jail to the publick Act of Faith, they part with their Hair and their Beard; by which the Inquisitors represent, that Hereticks return to that Condition in which they were born, viz. becoming the Children of Wrath.

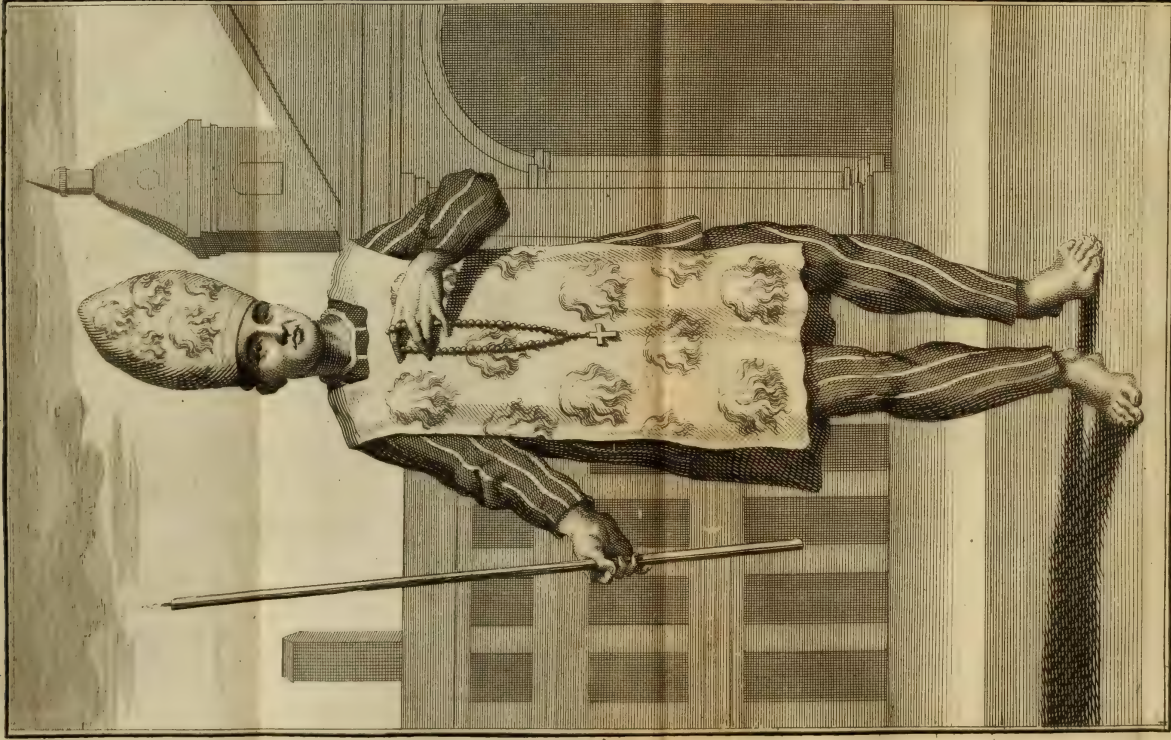
All Things being thus prepared to celebrate this Act of Faith, all the Prisoners, on that very Day which is appointed for the Celebration of it are cloathed with that Habit which they must wear in the publick Procession. But the Custom in this Matter is not altogether the same in all the Inquisitions. In that of *Goa*, the Jail-Keepers, about Midnight, go into the Cells of the Prisoners, bring in a burning Lamp to each of them, and a black Garment striped with white Lines; and also a Pair of Breeches, which reach down to their Ankles; both which they order them to put on. The black Habit is given them in token of Grief and Repentance. About two a-Clock the Keepers return, and carry the Prisoners into a long Gallery, where they are all placed in a certain Order against the Wall, no one of them being permitted to speak a Word, or mutter, or move; so that they stand immoveable, like Statues, nor is there the least Motion of any one of their Members to be seen, except of their Eyes. All these are such as have confessed their Fault, and have declared themselves willing to return by Penance to the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*. To every one of these is given a Habit to put over their black Garment. Penitent Hereticks, or such as are vehemently suspected, receive





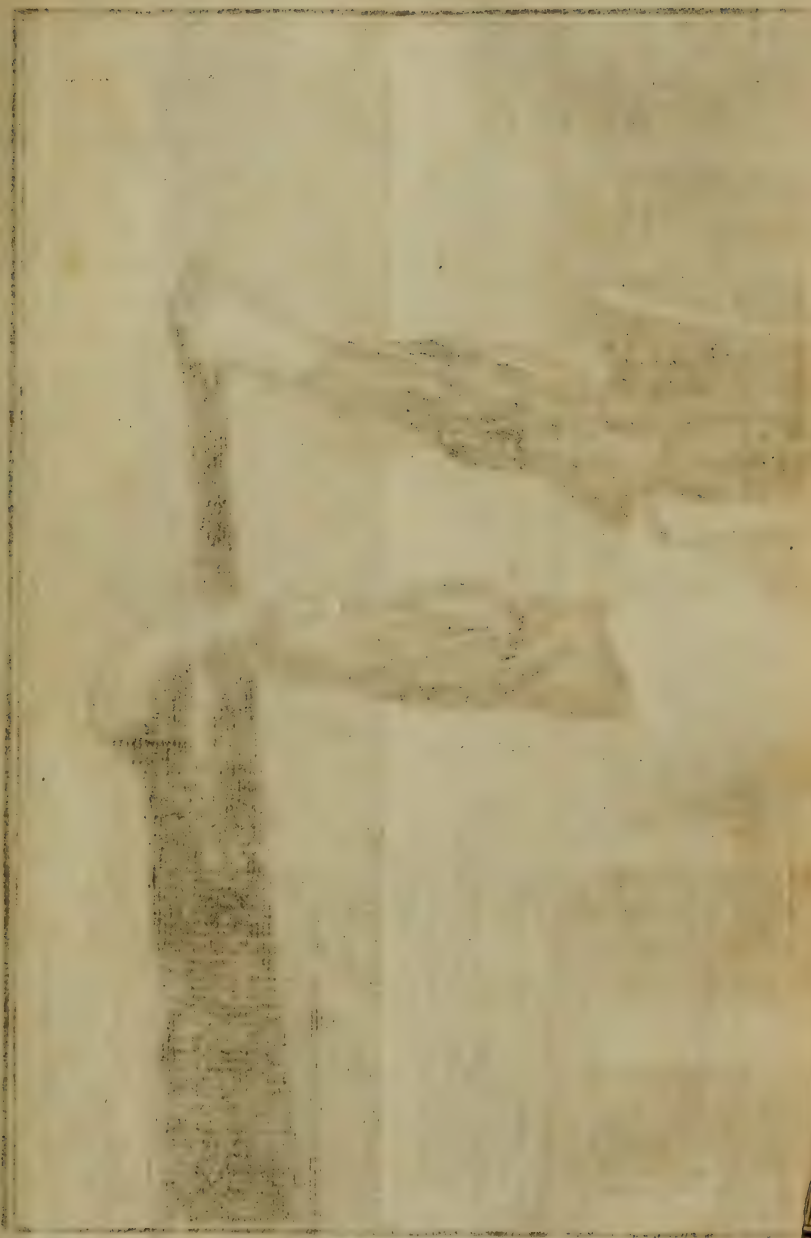
The Habit of a Relapse on Impenitent, to be burned, called of Samarra





The Habit of a Penitent after Sentence Pronounced, called Fuego revoltó.

Illustration of the





The Habit of a Penitent, called Sambenito.

receive the blessed Sackcloth, commonly called the *Sambenito* ; which, as we have before related, is of a Saffron Colour, and on which there is put the Cross of St. *Andrew*, of a Red Colour, on the Back and on the Breast. Vile and abject Persons are made to wear the infamous Mitre for more outrageous Blasphemies, which carries in it a Representation of Infamy, denoting that they are as it were Bankrupts of heavenly Riches. The same Mitre also is put on Polygamists, who are hereby shewn to have join'd themselves to two Churches; and finally, such as are convicted of Magick; but what is signified hereby as to them, I have not been able to discover. The others, whose Offences are slighter, have no other Garment besides the black one. Every one hath given him an extinguished Taper, and a Rope put about their Neck; which Rope and extinguished Taper have their Signification, as we shall afterwards shew. The Women are placed in a separate Gallery from the Men, and are there cloathed with the black Habit, and kept till they are brought forth in publick Procession.

As to those who are designed for the Fire, *viz.* such as have confessed their Heresy, and are impenitent, and Negatives, *viz.* such who are convicted by a sufficient Number of Witnesses, and yet deny their Crime, and finally such as are relapsed, they are all carried into a Room separate from the others. Their Dress is different from that of the others. They are however cloathed with the Sackcloth, or kind of Mantle, which some call the *Sambenito*, others the *Samarra* or *Samaretta*. And tho' it be of the same Make as the *Sambenito* is, yet it hath different Marks, is of a black Colour, hath Flames painted on it,

and sometimes the condemned Heretick himself, painted to the Life, in the midst of the Flames. Sometimes also they paint on it Devils thrusting the poor Heretick into Hell. Other Things may also be put on it ; and all this is done, that Persons may be deterred from Heresy by this horrible Spectacle.

As to those, who after Sentence pronounced, do at length confess their Crime, and convert themselves, before they go out of Jail, they are, if not Relapses, cloathed with the *Samarra*, on which the Fire is painted, sending the Flames downward, which the *Portugueze* call *Fogo revolto* ; as though you should say, the Fire inverted. Besides this, they have Paper Mitres put on them, made in the Shape of a Cone ; on which also Devils and Flames are painted, which the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* call in their Language *Carrocha*. All of them being thus cloathed, according to the Nature of their Crime, are allowed to sit down on the Ground, waiting for fresh Orders. Those of them who are to be burnt, are carried into a neighbouring Apartment, where they have Confessors always with them, to prepare them for Death, and convert them to the Faith of the Church of *Rome*.

About Four a-Clock the Officers give Bread and Figs to all of them, that they may somewhat satisfy their Hunger during the Celebration of the Act of Faith. About Sun-rising, the great Bell of the Cathedral Church tolls ; by which, as the usual Signal of an Act of Faith, all Persons are gathered together to this miserable Spectacle. The more reputable and principal Men of the City meet at the House of the Inquisition, and are as it were the Sureties of the Criminals, one of them walking by the Side of each Criminal in the





The Standard of the Inquisition in Spain.



The Standard of the Inquisition at Goa. p. 277

the Proceſſion, which they think is no ſmall Honour to them. Matters being thus prepared, the Inquiſitor places himſelf near the Gate of the Houſe of the Inquiſition, attended by the Notary of the holy Office. Here he reads over in Order the Names of all the Criminals; beginning with thoſe whoſe Offences are leaſt, and ending with thoſe whoſe Crimes are greateſt. The Criminals march out each in their Order, with naked Feet, and wearing the Habit that was put on them in Jail. As every one goes out, the Notary reads the Name of his Surety, who walks by his Side in the Proceſſion. The *Dominican* Monks march firſt; who have this Honour granted them, becauſe *Dominick*, the Founder of their Order, was alſo the Inventor of the Inquiſition. The Banner of the holy Office is carried before them; in which the Image of *Dominick* is curiouſly wrought in Needle-work, holding a Sword in one Hand, and in the other a Branch of Olive, with theſe Words, *Juſtice and Mercy*. Then follow the Criminals with their Sureties. When all thoſe whoſe Crimes are too flight to be puniſhed with Death, are gone out into Proceſſion, then comes the Crucifix; after which follow thoſe who are led out to the Punishment of Death. The Crucifix being in the miſt of theſe, hath its Face turned to thoſe who walk before, to denote the Mercy of the holy Office to thoſe who are ſaved from the Death they had deſerved; and the back Part of it to thoſe who come after, to denote that they have no Grace or Mercy to expect: For all Things in this Office are myſterious. Finally, they carry out the Statues of thoſe who have died in Hereſy, habited in the *Samarra*; and alſo the Bones dug out of the Graves, ſhut up in black Cheſts, upon

which Devils and Flames are painted all over, that they may be burnt to Ashes.

* When they have thus marched round the principal Streets of the City, that all may behold them, they at length enter the Church, where the Sermon concerning the Faith is to be preached. At

* Dr. Geddes gives us the following Account of this Procession in *Portugal*, p. 442. " In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about 9 a-Clock in the Morning.

" The first in the Procession are the *Dominicans*, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one Side hath their Founder, *Dominick's* Picture, and on the other Side the Cross, betwixt an Olive-tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*. Next after the *Dominicans* come the Penitents; some with *Benitoes*, and some without, according to the Nature of their Crimes. They are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and bare-footed, with a Wax-Candle in their Hands. Next come the Penitents, who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their Points turned downwards, to signify their having been saved, but so as by Fire. Next come the Negative and Relapsed, that are to be burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upward; and next come those who profess Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, and who, besides Flames on their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three Days before upon their Breasts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open Mouths painted about it.

" *Pegna*, a famous *Spanish* Inquisitor, calls this Procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*, and so it is in Truth, there being something in the Looks of all the Prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined; and in the Eyes and Countenances of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

" The

At Goa this is usually the Church of the *Dominicans*, and sometimes that of the *Franciscans*. The great Altar is covered over with Cloth, upon which are placed six silver Candlesticks, with burning Tapers. On each Side of it is erected something like a Throne; that on the right Hand for the Inquisitor and his Counsellors; that on the left for the Viceroy and his Officers. Over-against the great Altar there is another lesser one, on which several Missals are placed; and from thence even to the Gate of the Church is made a long Gallery, three Feet wide, full of Seats, in which the Criminals are placed, with their Sureties, in the Order in which they

“ The Prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each Hand of them, who are continually preaching to them to abjure their Heresies; but if they offer to speak any Thing, in Defence of the Doctrines they are going to suffer Death for professing, they are immediately gagged, and not suffered to speak a Word more.

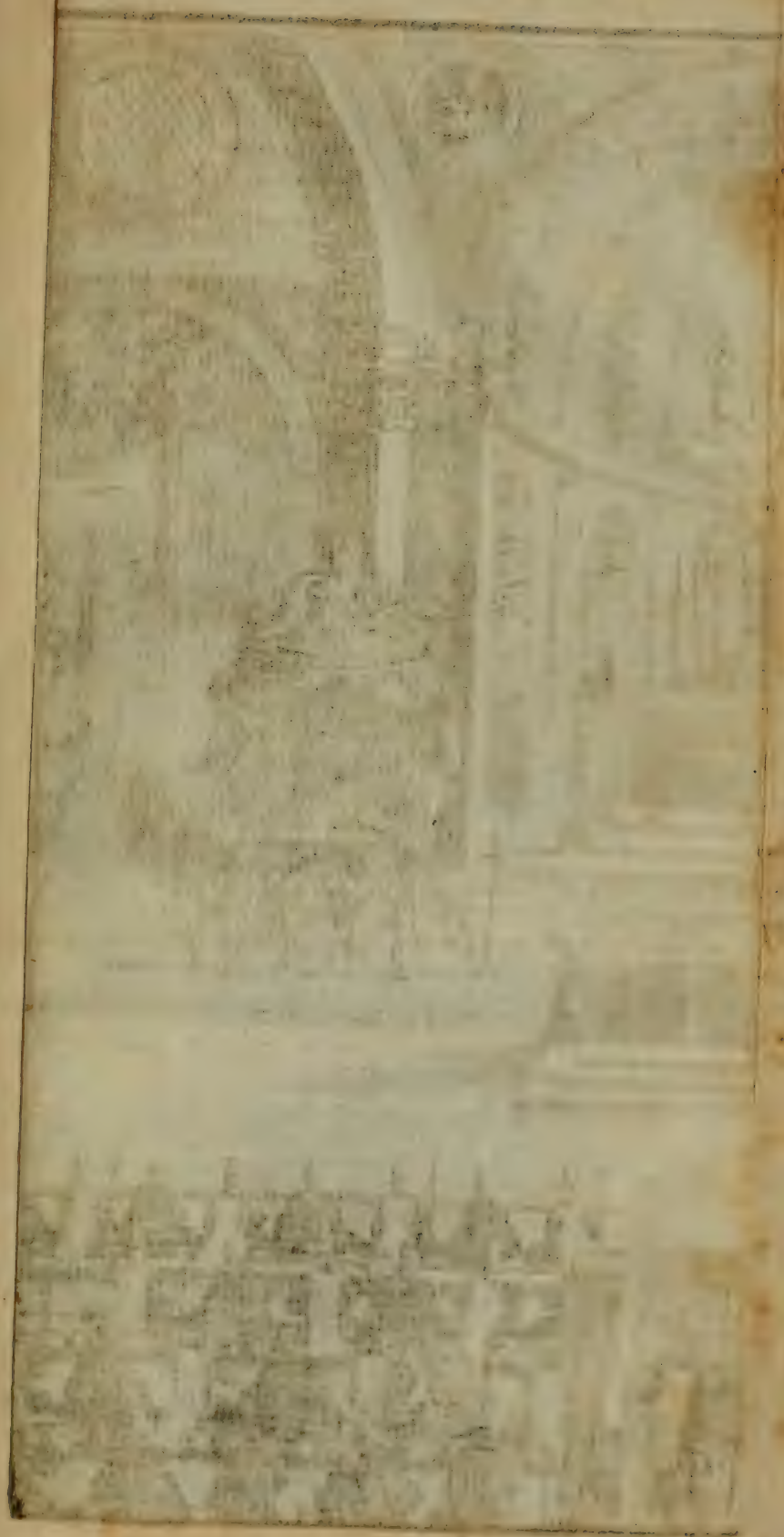
“ This I saw done to a Prisoner, presently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquisition, upon his having looked up to the Sun, which he had not seen before in several Years, and cried out in a Rapture, *How is it possible for People that behold that glorious Body, to worship any Being but him that created it?* After the Prisoners comes a Troop of Familiars on Horseback, and after them the Inquisitors and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor General upon a white Horse, led by two Men, with a black Hat, and a green Halband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employed as Familiars in the Procession.

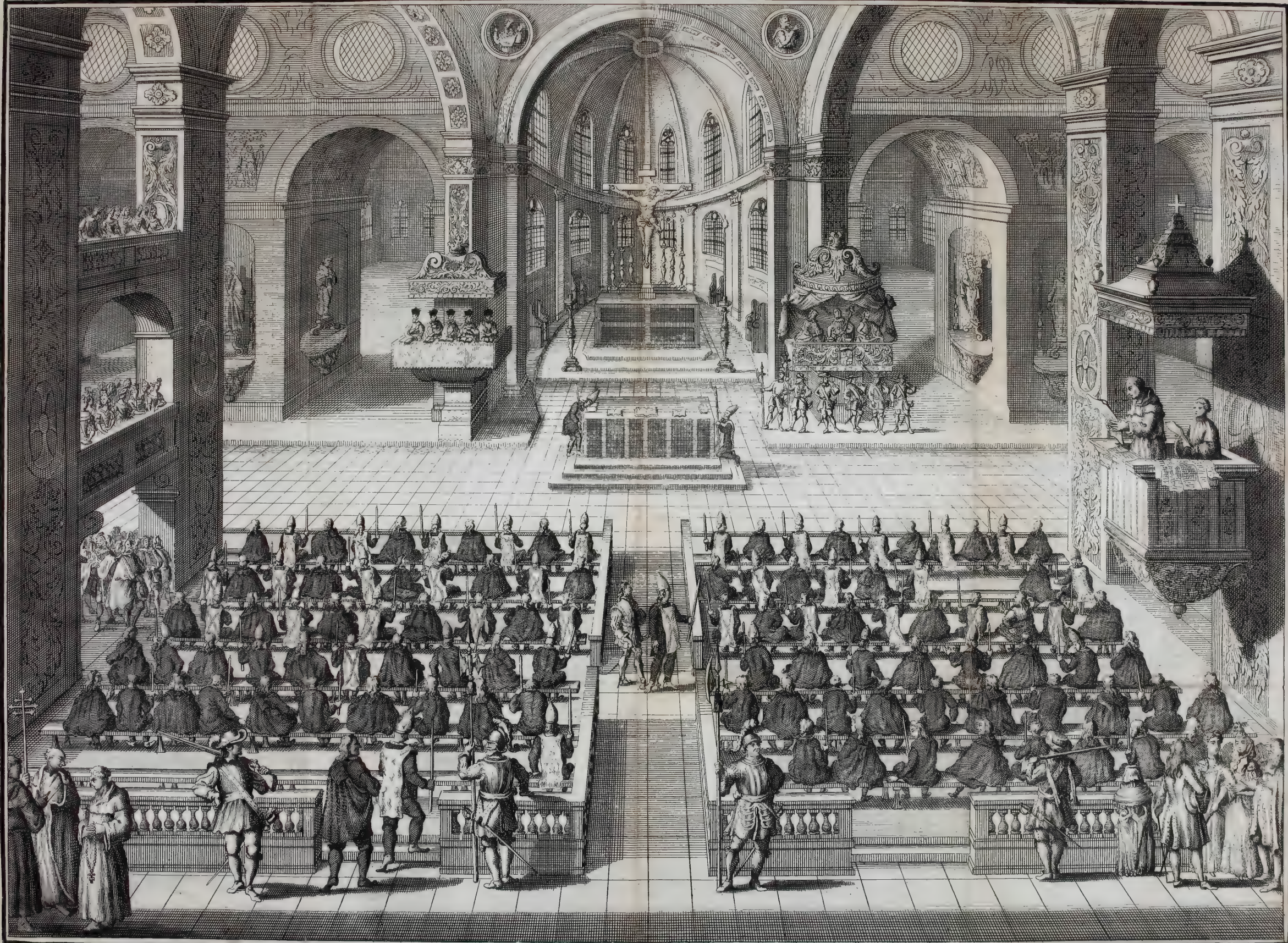
“ In the *Terreiro de Paco*, which may be as far from the Inquisition as *Whitehall* is from *Temple-Bar*, there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand People; at the one End sit the Inquisitors, and at the other End the Prisoners, and in the same Order as they walked in the Procession; those that are to be burnt being seated on the highest Benches behind the rest, which may be ten Feet above the Floor of the Scaffold.”

enter the Church ; so that those who enter first, and have offended least, are nearest the Altar.

After this comes in the Inquisitor, surrounded with his Collegues, and places himself on the right Hand Throne ; and then the Viceroy, with his Attendants, seats himself on the Throne on the left Hand. The Crucifix is put on the Altar in the midst of the six Candlesticks. Then the Sermon is preached concerning the Faith, and the Office of the Inquisition. This Honour is generally given to the *Dominicans*. The Author of the History of the Inquisition at Goa tells us, that in the Act of Faith, in which he walked in Procession, cloathed with the *Sambenito*, the Provincial of the *Augustines* preached the Sermon, which lasted half an Hour, and treated of the Inquisition, which he compared to *Noah's Ark* ; but said it was preferable to *Noah's Ark* in this, because that the Animals which entered it came out of it after the Flood with the same brutal Nature they carried in ; whereas the Inquisition so far changes the Persons who are detained in it, that though they enter cruel as Wolves, and fierce as Lions, they come out of it meek as Lambs.

When the Sermon is ended, two Readers, one after another, mount the same Pulpit, and with a loud Voice publicly read over the Sentences of all the Criminals, and the Punishment to which they are condemned. He whose Sentence is to be read over, is brought by an Officer into the Middle of the Gallery, holding an extinguished Taper in his Hand, and there stands till his Sentence is read through ; and because all the Criminals are supposed to have incurred the greater Excommunication, when any one's Sentence is read over, he is brought to the Foot of the Altar, where,
upon





The celebration of an Act of Faith at Goa.

upon his Knees, and his Hands placed on the Missale, he waits till so many are brought there, as there are Missals upon the Altar. Then the Reader for some time defers the reading of the Sentences; and after he hath admonished those who are kneeling at the Altar, that they should recite with him with their Heart and Mouth the Confession of Faith he is to read over to them, he reads it with a loud Voice; and when it is ended, they all take their former Places. Then the Reader reads over the Sentences of the rest, and the same Order is observed till all the Sentences are gone through.

When the Sentences of all those, who are freed from the Punishment of Death by the Mercy of the Office, are read through, the Inquisitor rises from his Throne, puts on his sacred Vestments, and being attended with about twenty Priests, comes down into the Middle of the Church, and there saying over some solemn Prayers, which may be seen † in the Book of the Sentences of the *Tholouse* Inquisition, he absolves them all fol. 149: from the Excommunication they were under, giving each of them a Blow by the Hands of those Priests who attend him.

Farther, when the Inquisitors absolve and reconcile Penitents at an Act of Faith, they make

† Verse. *Lord, save thy Men Servants, and thine Handmaids.*

Resp. *Those, O my God, who trust in thee.*

Verse. *The Lord be with you.*

Resp. *And with thy Spirit.*

Let us pray.

GRant, we beseech thee, O Lord, to these thy Men Servants, and thine Handmaids, the worthy Fruit of Penance; that they may be rendred innocent in the Sight of thy holy Church, from the Integrity of which they have strayed thro' Sin, by obtaining the Pardon of their Sins, thro' Christ our Lord. Amen.

use

l. 2. t. 3.
c. 11.

use of Rods, to admonish them, that by Heresy they have fallen from the Favour of God into his Anger and Fury. Hence *Paramus* advises such Penitents to consider, with how great Indulgence they are treated, because they are only whipped on their Shoulders; that they may go away, and being mindful of the divine Fury, may take heed not to relapse for the future. The Rod also points out the judiciary Power which the Inquisitors exercise over impious Hereticks, and those who are suspected of Heresy; because a Rod is the Measure by which any one's Deserts are measured, and therefore Penitents are whipped with Rods according to the Nature of their Offence, whereby their Faults are weighed and measured. Farther, the Inquisitors use Rods, because, as a Rod at the Beginning is in its Nature flexible, tender and soft, but at last hard, blunt and stiff, so the Inquisitors are soft and tender, whilst Penitents, offending through Frailty and Ignorance, reconcile themselves; but if Hereticks do afterwards suffer themselves to be overcome by Wickedness, and fall again into the Crimes they have committed, then they whip them, and strike them severely, even to the burning of the Fire. And, finally, they use Rods to establish and support the Weak in the Faith; because Rods are a very apt Instrument to support and confirm the Lame and Weak.

The Penitents carry in their Hands extinguished Wax Tapers, whilst the Inquisitors reconcile them; to intimate, that the Light of the Faith hath been altogether extinguished in their Minds by the Sin of Heresy and Infidelity. These Tapers are made of Wax, whereby Hereticks profess (*Risum teneatis*) that their Hearts have been so melted, thro' the Heat of Concupiscence,

as to receive various Sects; and that as Wax grows hard by Moisture, but melts by Dryness and Warmth, so they being hardened by the Moisture of carnal Delights, have remained in Infidelity, but are melted as Wax, and converted by the Dryness and Heat of Tribulation and Penance enjoined them. And finally, the Cotton of the Taper, and the Wax of which 'tis made, and the Fire with which 'tis lighted after Absolution, shadow forth that the Hereticks have denied Faith, Hope, and Charity. But when the Tapers are lighted after their Reconciliation, this signifies that they profess they will demonstrate, by the Light of good Works, the Faith which they have recovered.

Farther, those who are reconciled are sprinkled with holy Water and Hyssop, in token, that being brought out of the Power of Darkness, and having turned the Eyes of their Minds to the true Light of the Faith, they are to remain free from all the Snares and Calumnies of the Devil, that they may serve God with greater Freedom.

Farther, he who hath offended against the Catholick Faith which he had professed, hath a Rope tied round his Neck, to signify, that the inward Parts of such a Person being possessed by the Craftiness of the Devil, have been given to such Sins, of which his outward Parts being tied with Ropes, give a very evident Sign and Proof. And tho' they are reconciled after Abjuration of their Heresy, yet they walk with a Rope tied about their Necks; that they may come out as Witnesses against themselves, and may be Examples to others, that they may turn their Eyes to the inward Spots of the Mind.

During this Action, every one of the Prisoners eats the Bread and Figs in the Church,
which

which were given them by the Officers of the Inquisition in Jail.

When this Ceremony is performed, the Inquisitor goes back to his Place; after which the Sentences of those who are appointed to Death are read over; the Conclusion of which is, that the Inquisition can shew them no Favour, upon account of their being relapsed, or impenitent, and that therefore it delivers them over to the Arm of the secular Court, which they earnestly intreat so to moderate their Punishment, as to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and Danger of Death. When those last Words are read, one of the Officers of the holy Office gives each of them a Blow on the Breast, by which he signifies that they are left by the Inquisition; upon which one of the Officers of secular Justice comes to them and claims them. If any of them are in holy Orders, they are degraded, and deprived of all their Orders, before they are delivered to the secular Arm. After this they read the Sentences against the Dead. At last these miserable Wretches are brought to the secular Judge, to hear the Sentence of Death; and when they come before him, they are severally asked, in what Religion they desire to die? Their Crime is never inquired into; because 'tis not the Office of the secular Magistrate to ask, whether those, who are condemned by the Inquisition, are criminal? He is to pre-suppose them guilty, and his Duty is to inflict the Punishment appointed by Law upon those who commit such Crimes, of which they are pronounced guilty by the Inquisition. When they have answered this one single Question, they are soon after tied to a Stake, round about which there is placed a Pile of Wood. Those who answer that they will die Catholicks, are

are first strangled; but those who say they will die *Jews* or *Hereticks*, are burnt alive *. As these are leading out to Punishment, the rest are carried back without any Order, by their Sureties, to the Jail of the Inquisition. This is the Cele-

* I cannot avoid here giving my Reader a more particular Account of this Execution from Dr. *Geddes*, who himself was once present at it. His Words are these: " The Prisoners are no sooner in the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with Chains, before the Eyes of the Inquisitors; and being carried first to the secular Jail, are, within an Hour or two, brought from thence, before the Lord Chief Justice, who, without knowing any thing of their particular Crimes, or of the Evidence that was against them, asks them, one by one, *In what Religion they do intend to die?* If they answer, That they will die in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, they are condemned by him, *To be carried forthwith to the Place of Execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes.* But if they say, *They will die in the Protestant*, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the *Roman*, they are then sentenced by him, *To be carried forthwith to the Place of Execution, and there to be burnt alive.*

" At the Place of Execution, which at *Lisbon* is the *Ribera*, there are so many Stakes set up as there are Prisoners to be burnt, with a good Quantity of dry Fuz about them. The Stakes of the *Professed*, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a small Board, whereon the Prisoner is to be seated, within half a Yard of the Top. The Negative and Relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the *Professed* go up a Ladder, betwixt the two Jesuits, which have attended them all Day; and when they are come even with the foremention'd Board, they turn about to the People, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an Hour in exhorting the *Professed* to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; which, if they refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the Executioner ascends, and having turned the *Professed* off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies close to the Stake, he leaves them; and the Jesuits go up to them a second Time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, *That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and*
" carry

Celebration of an A&t of Faith in *Portugal*; or rather in that Part of *India* which is subject to the *Portuguese*, as a *Frenchman* hath described it in his History of the Inquisition at *Goa*, who himself walked in Procession at an A&t of Faith, wearing the infamous *Sambenito*, and who accurately observed and described all the Circumstances of it.

The Method of celebrating an A&t of Faith in *Spain*, is somewhat different. For whereas at *Goa* the Banner, which they carry before the Procession

“ carry them with him into the Flames of Hell-fire, so soon as
 “ they are out of their Bodies. Upon this a great Shout is
 “ raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the
 “ Cry is, *Let the Dogs Beards, let the Dogs Beards be made;*
 “ which is done by thrusting flaming Furzes, fastened to
 “ a long Pole, against their Faces. And this Inhumanity is
 “ commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal,
 “ and is always accompanied with such loud Acclamations of
 “ Joy, as are not to be heard upon any other Occasion; a Bull
 “ Feast, or a Farce, being dull Entertainments, to the using
 “ a professed Heretick thus inhumanly.

“ *The professed Beards having been thus made, or trimm'd, as*
 “ they call it in Jollity, Fire is set to the Furz, which are at
 “ the Bottom of the Stake, and above which the Professed are
 “ chained so high, that the Top of the Flame seldom reaches
 “ higher than the Seat they sit on; and if there happens to be
 “ a Wind, to which that Place is much exposed, it seldom reaches
 “ so high as their Knees: So that though, if there be a Calm,
 “ the Professed are commonly dead in about half an Hour after
 “ the Furz is set on Fire; yet, if the Weather prove windy,
 “ they are not after that dead in an Hour and a half, or two
 “ Hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to Death.
 “ But though, out of Hell, there cannot possibly be a more
 “ lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Suf-
 “ ferers (so long as they are able to speak) crying out, *Mise-*
 “ *recordia por amor de Dios, Mercy for the Love of God;* yet it is
 “ beheld by People of both Sexes, and all Ages, with such
 “ Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other
 “ Occasion to be met with.” Dr. Geddes's Tracts, Vol. I.
 p. 447, &c. Thus far Dr. Geddes.

When

cession hath the Picture of *Dominick* wrought in it, *Paramus* says, that in *Spain* the Cross is the Banner of the Inquisition, which is carried before

When Mr. *Wilcox*, now the present Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Rockester*, was Minister to the *English* Factory at *Lisbon*, he sent the following Letter to the then Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, dated at *Lisbon*, Jan. 15, 1706. N. S. which I publish by his Lordship's Allowance and Approbation, and which abundantly confirms the foregoing Account.

My Lord,

I N Obedience to your Lordship's Commands, of the 10th ult. I have here sent all that was printed concerning the last Auto de Fe. I saw the whole Process, which was agreeable to what is published by *Limborch* and others upon that Subject. Of the five Persons condemned, there were but four burnt; *Antonio Tavanés*, by an unusual Reprieve, being saved after the Procession. *Heytor Dias*, and *Maria Pinteyra*, were burnt alive, and the other two first strangled. The Execution was very cruel. The Woman was alive in the Flames half an Hour, and the Man above an Hour: The present King and his Brothers were seated at a Window so near, as to be addressed to a considerable Time, in very moving Terms, by the Man as he was burning. But tho' the Favour he begged was only a few more Faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it. Those which are burnt alive here, are seated on a Bench twelve Feet high, fastened to a Pole, and above six Feet higher than the Faggots. The Wind being a little fresh, the Man's hinder Parts were perfectly wasted; and as he turned himself, his Ribs opened before he left speaking, the Fire being recruited as it wasted, to keep him just in the same Degree of Heat. But all his Entreaties could not procure him a larger Allowance of Wood to shorten his Misery and dispatch him. Thus far the Letter.

How diabolical a Religion must that be, which thus divests Men of all the Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion, and hardens them against all the Miseries and Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures! For as Dr. *Geddes* observes, *Ibid.* p. 450. "That the Reader may not think that this inhuman Joy is the Effect of a natural Cruelty that is in these Peoples Disposition, and not of the Spirit of their Religion, he may rest assured, that all publick Malefactors besides Hereticks, have their violent Deaths no where more tenderly lamented than amongst the same People, and even when there is nothing in the Manner of their Deaths that appears inhuman or cruel."

them;

them; and tediously tells us of several Myſteries ſignified by the Croſs, of which I will here give a ſhort Summary.

The Croſs is the Beginning and End of all A&S of the Inquiſition; and by it is repreſented, that the Tribunal of the Inquiſition is a Representation of that ſupreme and final Tribunal, in which the Sign of the Croſs ſhall appear before the Lord Chriſt, coming to the Judgment of the World with great Maſteſty and Glory. Farther, it denotes the War which the Inquiſition wages againſt Hereticks, and the Victory which they gain over the Enemies of the Orthodox Faith; becauſe the Inquiſitors are appointed the Conquerors of heretical Pravity, and Captains for the Defence of Religion, who keep Watch at the Caſtle of the Inquiſition for the Chriſtian Faith, repair it when going to Ruin, reſtore it when tumbled down, and preſerve it when reſtored in its ancient, flouriſhing and vigorous State.

The Inquiſition uſes a green Croſs, that it may be more conveniently diſtinguiſhed from thoſe Croſſes of other Colours, which are uſed by the Chriſtian Commonwealth; and eſpecially that it may be ſhadowed out, that all Things uſually ſignified by Greenneſs, belong to the Inquiſition. For Inſtance, Greenneſs denotes Stability and Eternity; it is a grateful, pleaſant, and attractive Colour to the Eyes, and finally, is a Sign of Victory and Triumph. Hereby is ſhadowed forth, that *the Inquiſitors of heretical Pravity vigilantly preſerve the Stability of the Church; and that Hereticks are attracted by the green Croſs, ſo that they can't eſcape the Judgment of this Tribunal, and by beholding it are brought to the tender Boſom of Mother Church, and drawn to Repentance, and the Sincerity of the Faith.*

The

The Banner of the Inquisition hath a green Cross in a Field Sable, adorned on the right Hand with a Branch of green Olive, and brandishing on the left a drawn Sword, with this Motto round about the Scutcheon, *Exsurge, Domine, & judica causam tuam*; Psal. lxxiv. 22. *Arise, O Lord, and plead thy own Cause*. The Branch of green Olive denotes the same as the green Cross. But the Branch of Olive is on the right Hand of the Cross, and the Sword on the left, to shew that in the Inquisition Mercy is mixed with Justice; and the Meaning of this Mixture they derive from the Ark of the Tabernacle, in which, together with the Tables, there was the Rod and the Manna, the Rod of Severity, and the Manna of Sweetness; as tho' the Rod of *Aaron* which blossomed, was the Rod with which Judges command Criminals to be whipped. The Branch of Olive at the right Hand, signifies that nothing ought to be so strictly regarded by the Inquisitors as Mercy and Clemency, which the Olive most wonderfully shadows forth, which hath Branches always green, and which endures Storms much longer than any other Trees, and if buried under Water, is not so soon destroyed, nor doth so easily lose its Verdure. The drawn Sword brandishing on the left, points out that the Inquisitors, after having tried in vain all Methods of Mercy, do then as it were unwillingly come to the Use and Drawing of the Sword, which was given by God for the Punishment of Offenders. The Field of Sable, in the midst of which the green Cross is placed, intimates the Repentance of the Criminals, and the Sorrow they conceive on account of their Sins; which, however, the Green mitigates with the Hope of Pardon.

The Motto round the Scutcheon, *Exsurge Domine*, &c. marks out that the Inquisitors, in expectation of the Coming of the Lord, do in the mean while punish the Wicked, that they may deter others, and defend the Good.

p. 135.

But besides these Things, there are other Differences between the Celebration of an Act of Faith in *India* and *Spain*. *Gonsalvius* tells us, this solemn Procession began in this Manner at *Seville*. “ In the first Place went some School-Boys, brought out of a certain College in which Boys were taught, which they commonly call the House of Teaching, who strike an Awe upon others by their Habit, Singing, and Order, in which they are kept by certain Clergymen cloathed in Surplices. They walk along singing the Litanies of the Saints, repeating them alternately, the Chorus alternately answering, *Ora pro nobis*. After these follow the Prisoners themselves, commonly called Penitentials, disposed as it were into several Classes in this Order. Next after the Children walk those who are convicted of lesser Faults. The Tokens of their Guilt are usually unlighted Candles, Halters about their Necks, wooden Bits, and Paper Mitres. They walk with their Heads uncovered, that the Mitre may not be concealed; and, after the Manner of Slaves, without their Cloak. Those who excel others in Birth, or Riches, follow after those who are meaner. Next to these march those who are cloathed with the *Sambenito's*, or military Mantles, marked across with the red Cross; the same Order being observed as above, according to the Distinction of the Persons. Those who are defiled in holy Orders, as they are superior in Dignity, so also are they



The procession of the Prisoners at an Act of the Faith.



“ they in their Place or Rank in the Proceſſion.
 “ After theſe comes the third and laſt Claſs, viz.
 “ of thoſe who are appointed for the Fire.
 “ Every Priſoner is attended by two armed Fa-
 “ miliars, for his ſafe Cuſtody, one on each Side
 “ of him; beſides which, thoſe who are to die
 “ have two Monks or Theatins, as they call them,
 “ walking by them. The whole Council of the
 “ City, conſiſting of the *Alguazils*, Jurors, the
 “ Judges of twenty-four Degrees, the great Offi-
 “ cers of the Court, the Regent and Viceroy
 “ himſelf, or his Deputy, who are followed by
 “ a great Number of Nobility on Horſeback,
 “ immediately follow the Claſſes of the Priſoners,
 “ who, according to the Cuſtom of a Triumph,
 “ ought certainly to march firſt. After theſe
 “ comes the Eccleſiaſtical Order, the Clergy, be-
 “ neficed Perſons, and Curates walking firſt.
 “ Next after them walk the whole Chapter of the
 “ principal Church, which they commonly call
 “ the Cabild of the greater Church. Then the
 “ Abbots and Priors of the Monks Orders, with
 “ their Attendants. All theſe walk before the
 “ holy Tribunal to do Honour to it, becauſe, on
 “ that Day, it openly triumphs. Between theſe
 “ and the next after there is a Space left empty,
 “ in which the Fiſcal of the Inquiſition, who
 “ hath had no ſmall Share in gaining that Victory
 “ to the holy Tribunal, walks as Standard-Bearer
 “ in truly military Pomp, diſplaying and open-
 “ ing the Standard made of red Damask Silk.
 “ This Standard is moſt curiouſly embroidered,
 “ having on one Side of it the Arms of that Pope
 “ who granted the Inquiſition, with his Name
 “ written at large; and on the other thoſe of
 “ King *Ferdinand*, who firſt brought it into *Spain*.
 “ Every Thing in it is wrought with Silk, Gold,

“ and Purple. Upon the very Point of this Ban-
 “ ner is fastened a silver Crucifix washed over
 “ with Gold, of great Value; to which the su-
 “ perstitious Multitude pay a peculiar Venera-
 “ tion, for this Reason only, because it belongs
 “ to the Inquisition. At length come the Fathers
 “ of the Faith themselves, with a slow Pace, and
 “ profound Gravity, truly triumphing, as be-
 “ comes the principal Generals of that Victory.
 “ After them come all the Familiars of the holy
 “ Inquisition on Horseback. Then an innume-
 “ rable Company of the common People and Mob,
 “ without any Order or Character. In this
 “ Pomp they march from the Jail of the Inqui-
 “ sition to the high and magnificent Scaffold,
 “ which is built of Wood, in the noblest and
 “ most capacious Street of the City, for shewing
 “ the Penitents to publick View, and for hearing
 “ their Sentences. On this Scaffold they make
 “ them sit in the same Order as they marched.
 “ There is also another Scaffold almost as large
 “ as the former, over against it, in which is
 “ erected the Tribunal of the Lords Inquisitors;
 “ where they sit in their Inquisitorial, and almost
 “ divine Majesty, attended with all that Gran-
 “ dure in which they came.”

The King (if present) the Queen and the
 whole Court, and also the Legates, and all the
 Nobility of *Spain*, generally honour this Solemnity with their Presence. The Seat of the Inquisitor General is like a Tribunal, raised above the King's. When all are seated in their Places, they begin with celebrating Mass; but when the Priest who officiates is come to about the Middle of the Service, he leaves the Altar, and goes back to his proper Place. Then the supreme Inquisitor comes down from the Scaffold, rob'd
 in



The celebration of an Act of Faith in Spain.



in all his Ornaments; and making his Reverences before the Altar, ascends by several Steps to the King, attended by some of the Officers of the Inquisition, who carry the Crucifix and Gospels, and the Book in which is contained the Oath, by which the King obliges himself to protect the Catholick Faith, to the Extirpation of Heresies, and the Defence of the Inquisition. The King standing bare-headed, having on one side of him the Constable of *Castile*, or one of the *Grandeos* of *Spain*, who holds up the Sword of State, swears that he will keep the Oath, which is publickly read over to him, by one of the Members of the Royal Council; and remains in the same Posture, till the supreme Inquisitor goes back to his Place. After this one of the Secretaries of the Inquisition goes into a Desk, reads over the like Oath, and takes it from the Council, and the whole Assembly. Then all the several Sentences are read over; and the Solemnity sometimes lasts till nine a-Clock in the Evening.

Criminals penitent and reconciled, and brought out in publick Procession, are carried back to their former Jails in the holy Office the same Day in which the Sentences are pronounced against them, and the Day following are brought to an Audience of the Inquisitors, and are admonished of those Things which are enjoined them by their Sentences, and how grievously they will be punished, unless they humbly do the Penances assigned them. After this, they send every one to the Place to which his Sentence ordered him. Those who are condemned to the Gallies, are sent to the Jails of the secular Judges. Some are whipped thro' the principal Streets of the City, and sometimes receive two hundred Lashes. Others wear the infamous *Sambenito*; some every

Day, others must appear in them only *Sundays* and holy Days. But in these Things every one observes the Custom of his own Inquisition. In the Inquisition at *Goa* this is the Method. Before the Prisoners are dismissed, they are carried from Jail to some other House, where they are every Day instructed in the Doctrines and Rites of the Church of *Rome*; and when they are dismissed, every one hath a Writing given him, containing the Penances enjoined them; to which is added a Command, that every one shall exactly keep secret every Thing he hath seen, said or heard, and all the Transactions relating to him, whether at the Table, or in other Places of the holy Office. And to this Secrecy every Prisoner binds himself by a solemn Oath.

The Day after this Solemnity also, the Effigies of those condemned to Death, painted to the Life, are carried to the *Dominicans* Church, and there hung up to be viewed by all. The Custom in this Matter is described by *Ludovicus a Paramo*.
 2. t. 2. " There is another Monument of Infamy, which,
 5. n. 9, " tho' vulgarly called by the *Spaniards* *Sambenito*,
 c. 11. " yet is not a Garment, but a Cloth affixed to
 " the Walls of the Churches for perpetual Infamy in the Parishes where they lived. On
 " this Cloth is written the Name and Surname
 " of the Criminal, and the Business he carried
 " on is also expressed. If he discovers any farther, they add another little Piece to the Cloth
 " to prevent Doubt, describing his Country; and
 " oftentimes also the Parents and Grandfathers
 " of the condemned Person.
 " In some of these Cloths may be read who
 " were the Parents of the Criminals, of what
 " Race they were; whether they were married,
 " or if married Women, whose Wives they were;
 " whether

“ whether lately recovered to the Christian Re-
 “ ligion, from the *Jewish* Law and *Mahometan*
 “ Sect. Finally, the Cause of their Penance is
 “ declared according to the Nature of their Crime;
 “ viz. that he was an Arch-Heretick, a Dog-
 “ matist, a declared Heretick, an heretical Apo-
 “ state, a feigned Penitent, negative and obsti-
 “ nate, an impenitent and relapsed Heretick,
 “ a *Lutheran*, Anabaptist, *Calvinist*, *Martianist*
 “ Heretick, even tho’ they died before Condem-
 “ nation. Besides this Inscription, there is also
 “ painted the Mark which is usually put on living
 “ Penitents, as is above explained. In the an-
 “ cient Cloths, which have not yet been repaired,
 “ one may see an upright Cross. Besides these
 “ already mentioned, other Things may be seen
 “ in them; for in some the Person and Crime is
 “ omitted, and this one Word only written with-
 “ out the Picture, *Combustus*, *Burnt*. On the
 “ Clothes of such as are reconciled, this Word
 “ only, without any Cross or Mark, *Reconciliatus*,
 “ *Reconciled*. Sometimes the Date of the Year is
 “ wanting. Sometimes the Flames are painted
 “ without any Inscription, so that the Criminal
 “ can’t possibly be known. However, these Mo-
 “ numents of Infamy and Disgrace are not to be
 “ fixed up to render those infamous, who are re-
 “ conciled during the Time of Indulgence and
 “ Grace. For as it was agreed with them, that
 “ they should not wear such infamous Habits,
 “ nor be cloathed with them during the Time of
 “ their Reconciliation, it would be contrary to
 “ Reason and Justice to hang them up, because
 “ it would be wholly to destroy the Favour granted
 “ them. This Constitution is observed in all the
 “ Kingdoms and Dominions of the King of *Spain*,
 “ except in *Sicily*; where, in the Year 1543.

“ when the Licenciate *Cervera* was Inquisitor there,
 “ there was a very great Commotion at *Palermo*,
 “ when the People rose against the holy Inqui-
 “ sition, and tore off the infamous Cloths from
 “ the Walls of the Church dedicated to St. *Do-*
 “ *minick*, with so great a Fury and Rage, that
 “ they could never, to this Day, fix them up again
 “ upon the Walls either of that, or any other
 “ Church.”

Thus far we have described the Method of Proceeding observed in the Inquisition; and if we attentively consider it, and compare it with the usual Method of Proceeding in all other Courts, we shall find it to be a Series and Connection of Injustice and Cruelties, and subversive of all Laws, both divine and human.

The Papists usually recommend to their own People this Tribunal as an holy one, and call the Inquisition the holy Office. But if we consider it thorowly, we shall find 'tis all Disguise, by which they endeavour to palliate and cover over the Villany and Injustice of this Court. I will not now undertake to shew that the Causes which are managed before this Tribunal are not subject to human Judgment, but belong to the Tribunal of God, and his Son Christ: For God only, the supreme Lord of all, who can save, and can destroy, can prescribe the Laws of Salvation and Damnation: He only, as Omniscient and Searcher of Hearts, can pronounce an infallible Judgment of every one's Faith, which lies concealed in his Mind, and which he may dissemble by Words or Actions, and hath admitted no Man as Partner with himself in this Power. From hence it evidently follows, that 'tis a sacrilegious Violation of the divine Majesty and Laws, in that the Pope
of

of *Rome* arrogates to himself the Judgment of the Faith, prescribes Laws of Believing to the Faithful, erects the Tribunal of an Inquisition, sends every where Inquisitors as Judges delegated by him, who, in his Name, and by a Power granted by him, are to inquire into the Faith of all, and punish those who are not in all Things obedient to the Pope. Nor will I here examine that villainous Doctrine, by which they teach that Hereticks are to be deprived of all Power, so that Faith is not to be kept with them; Subjects are not bound by their Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity; that the Husband or Wife, for the Heresy of either, is freed from the Laws of Matrimony, and even Children from Obedience to their Parents: For, 'tis fully evident, that this Doctrine subverts all Laws, divine and human.

I will only, in a few Words, represent the principal Iniquities and Instances of Injustice of this Tribunal; in which, as to the Reason and Method of Proceeding in favour of the Faith, it differs from the Laws and Customs of all other Courts; whereby Things evidently unjust in other Tribunals, are in this accounted just. I shall not indeed mention all, but the Chief only, and most remarkable Instances, as Specimens of the rest.

I. The first is, that the Inquisitors, by publishing an Edict of the Faith, oblige all, under the Penalty of Excommunication, to inform before them of every one whom they suspect of Heresy, for the slightest Cause; so that not only a Relation is bound to accuse his Relation, a Brother his Brother, and by his Information to bring him into Danger of being burnt, the most horrible of all Punishments; but even a Wife
her

her Husband: Yea, what destroys all the Laws of Nature, a Son, according to the Opinion of many Doctors, is bound to inform against his Father, if a secret Heretick.

II. A second Instance of Injustice, is their condemning a Person, defamed only for Heresy, to make canonical Purgation, *i. e.* to purge himself with seven, more or less, Compurgators; so that if he fails in one, two or three, he is accounted guilty. For thus the Life and Torture of any one depends on the Will and Pleasure of another.

III. A third is, that in this Office every one, tho' excluded by other Courts, is admitted for a Witness, a mortal Enemy only excepted.

IV. To this may be added a fourth, that the Names of the Witnesses are not shewn to the Prisoner, nor is any Circumstance discovered to him by which he can come to the Knowledge of the Witnesses.

V. A fifth Instance of Injustice is, that if two unexceptionable Witnesses, who yet must ever be liable to Exception, because unknown to the Criminal, testify of different Facts, yea, sometimes if there be one only, yea, if but a mere Report, they think it enough to order to the Torture.

VI. A sixth Instance is, that they would have Persons informed against become their own Accusers: For as soon as ever any one is thrown into Jail, he is bound by an Oath to declare the Truth.

VII. A

VII. A seventh Instance is, that the Inquisitors use various Arts to draw out a Confession from the Prisoners, by making them deceitful Promises, which, when they have got the Confession, they don't believe themselves obliged to fulfil; that so the Prisoner being destitute of all human Assistance and Comfort, and seeing no End to his Miseries, may, thro' the Art and Fraud of the Inquisitor, have no possible Way left to defend himself. And yet in the mean while these Wretches affect the Appearance of Justice, and grant the Criminals an Advocate and Proctor to manage their Cause. But in this the Prisoner is miserably deceived.

VIII. And this is an eighth Specimen of their Injustice, because the Advocate granted to him is given him only to betray him. For he may not choose such an Advocate as he himself approves of, nor is it lawful for the Advocate to defend the Prisoner, unless he would be accounted as a Favourer of Heresy; but the Inquisition itself assigns him his Advocate, bound to them by an Oath, whose principal Business is to persuade the Criminal to confess the Crime he is accused of, not to use any Methods of Defence not practised in the Court of the Inquisition, and immediately to quit his Defence, if he can't defend him according to the Laws of the Inquisition.

IX. A ninth is, that when the Crimes cannot be proved against the Prisoner, he is not absolved from the Crime of which he is accused, but only from Prosecution; and all the Declaration that is made, is that the Crime against him is not proved by

by proper Witnesses; and this Sentence is never taken for an adjudged Case. So that he who is once informed against to the Inquisition, altho' he be innocent, and his Crime can't be proved according to the received Manner of the Inquisition, tho' indeed, according to that Manner, all Crimes of which there is but the least Suspicion may be easily proved; yet he is never blotted out of the Inquisitors Book or Index, but his Name is there preserved in perpetual Remembrance of his being a suspected Person, that if he should happen to be informed against for Heresy at any other Time, these latter Informations added to the former may amount to a real Proof; and that altho' he is dismissed from Jail by the Sentence of the Judge, he may never be able to live in Safety, but that being always suspected by the Inquisitor, he may be arrested for the same Crime which ought to have been forgotten, upon the fresh Information of some vile and wicked Fellow.

X. A tenth, and that not the least Instance of Injustice, is their Readiness to put Persons to the Torture, and that to discover a secret Crime, lying concealed in the Mind; yea, that they will use the Torture so much the sooner, because the Crime is more concealed than other Crimes.

XI. The eleventh is, their putting Persons to the Torture upon half full Proof of the Crime. This half full Proof is Faultering, Defamation, and one Witness of his own Knowledge, or when the Tokens are vehement and violent. All these Things are subject to the Pleasure of the Judge. So that if any one falls into the Hands of a cruel Inquisitor, and faulthers in his Answer, or is informed against by one Witness, who declares he
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was present at the Action or Words he gives Information of, he can't possibly escape the Torture, nor consequently the Punishment of the Crime he is accused of, considering the Violence of the Torments. Nor is this all; but as there may be some Facts occasioned not so much by Heresy concealed in the Mind, as by carnal Concupiscence or Rashness, they will have such to be tortured for their Intention, and force them by Torments to confess they had an heretical Intention in their Mind.

XII. A twelfth is, that when they prepare themselves for the Torture, they gravely and seriously admonish the Criminal to speak nothing but the Truth, and to confess nothing that is not agreeable to Truth to avoid the Tortures. By this Means they put on the Appearance of Sincerity, as tho' they sought nothing but the naked Truth, that when the Torture is finished they may be very secure that the tortured Person hath confessed a real Crime, because they have seriously and gravely admonished him to say nothing contrary to Truth. In the mean while they suppose, that the Crime objected against him is real, and endeavour to force from him a Confession by Torture, and threaten to double his Torments unless he confesses; so that if he denies the Crime, his Torments are aggravated; if he confesses it, his Torments are soon ended. Hence it appears, that their Design is not honestly to find out the Truth by Torture, but that they suppose the Crime is real, altho' according to the Laws of the Inquisition it be only half proved, and then extort a Confession of it.

XIII. A

XIII. A thirteenth is, that whereas in other Courts the Number is certainly fixed how often the Torture may be repeated, they have invented a Method of torturing Persons very often, without offending against the Law, which provides that the Tortures shall not be repeated above twice or thrice. If, for Instance, they make use of the lesser Tortures, and the Prisoner confesses nothing, they afterwards make use of more grievous ones, then proceed to such as are more cruel, till at different Intervals of Time they have gone thro' all the several Kinds of Tortures. And this they don't call a Repetition, but only a Continuation of the Torture; so that if any one hath been several Times tortured, but with a different kind of Torture each Time, and hath thus at certain Distances gone thro' all the Kinds of Torture, according to the Opinion of these merciful Casuists, he ought to be accounted as tortured only once.

XIV. A fourteenth is, that when they deliver condemned Persons to the secular Arm, they intercede for them, that their Punishment may be so moderated as to prevent shedding of Blood, or Danger of Death. And in the mean while, if the Magistrate is not ready to burn the Hereticks, or delays the Punishment, they oblige him, under Penalty of Excommunication, to execute the Sentence. The superstitious Wretches are afraid they should become irregular, by delivering a Criminal to the secular Magistrate without Intercession, and yet are not afraid of becoming irregular, by compelling the Magistrate under Penalty of Excommunication to murder those whom they

they have condemned. Can any thing be more evident, than that this is nothing more than acting a Part, and an Affectation to be thought by the People to have no hand in the Murder of which they are really the Authors?

XV. The last Instance I shall mention, appears in their ridiculous Process against the Dead, whose Relations and Heirs they cite, to appear on such a Day to defend, if they can and will, the Memory of the Dead. Whereas they themselves have made it a Law, that if any one appears in Defence of an Heretick, he shall be accounted as a Favourer of Hereticks himself, and condemned as such, and have no Advocate or Procurator to defend himself. So that they cite all Persons to defend the Memory of the Dead, and yet deter all Persons from such Defence by a most grievous Punishment, appointed against the Favourers of Hereticks. So that all this is, like their Intercession for Criminals, mere Imposture and Sham. Then they provide an Advocate to manage the Cause, bound to them under an Oath, and he publicly declares he can't defend the Memory of the Deceased. So that as no one undertakes his Defence, the Accusations against him are reckoned just, the Proofs legal, and the Deceased is condemned for Heresy. But what greater Instance of Injustice can there be, than to condemn a Person as convicted, whose Defence no one dares undertake, without running the Hazard of his Fortune and Life.

If any one considers these Things, which I have mentioned as Specimens only, he will find no Sanctity in the Court of the Inquisition; but must acknowledge, that in the whole Method of
I Pro-

Proceeding there is nothing but Injustice, Fraud, Impostures, and the most accursed Hypocrisy; by which the Inquisitors, under the feigned Presence of Sanctity, endeavour to disguise the Villany of their Proceedings, that so they may maintain their Dominion over the miserable common People, and keep them all in Subjection to themselves. And tho' they do every Thing that is wicked and vile, yet they would have all adore them for the venerable Character of Sanctity.

'Tis needless to mention here more Instances of their Cruelty: I shall say all in a few Words. The Miseries of the Jail, in which the Prisoners are generally confined by themselves for several Years, shut up in Darkness, without being allowed any human Converse, are so great, the Cruelty of their Torments so severe, and their Punishments so exquisite, that they greatly exceed the Cruelty of all other Courts: For Persons are not only burnt alive, but their Mouths gagged, so that they have not the Liberty to groan or cry out in those most horrible Tortures; and by thus stopping up their Mouths, they are in such an Agony, as that they are almost strangled. But their Cruelty towards the Penitent and Converted is most detestable: For whereas the Church ought, with open Arms, to embrace Penitents, in imitation of the Shepherd who carried the lost Sheep on his Shoulders, and brought it home to the Sheepfold, these Wretches injoin the most grievous Punishments on those whose Lives they spare, which with them are only wholesome Penances. For they condemn them either to wear the infamous *Sambenito*, or to Imprisonment, or the Gallies, whereby their very Life is oftentimes a Punishment to them; whilst others are denied the very Hopes of Life, especially the Relapsed, who
are

are condemned to Death without Mercy, tho' they convert themselves. And yet the Sacraments are given to those who are reconciled to the Church when they desire it; and thus before they are put to Death they become Members of the Church, put in a State of Salvation, and by the Priests themselves most certainly assured of an heavenly Crown. Can there be any greater Cruelty, and more abhorrent from the Spirit of Christianity, than to punish with Death an erroneous Person who repents, detests his Error, and is now reconciled to the Church? But the Ecclesiastical Sanctions must be satisfied, and the Authority of the Church preserved intire, tho' the Laws of Jesus Christ, and the Commands of the Gospel, are trampled under Foot.

All these Iniquities are committed according to the very Laws of the Inquisition. Many Things are indeed, in the Execution of this Office, left to the Pleasure of the Inquisitors, which Power they often villainously abuse, as appears from their daily Practice, and innumerable Instances; for it was the common Complaint of all Nations against the Inquisition, what *Thuanus* tells us was the Complaint of the *Neapolitans*: *That* Hist. 1. 31
the perverse and preposterous Form of Trials increased the Horror, because it was contrary to natural Equity, and to every legal Method in carrying on that Jurisdiction. Add to this the Inhumanity of their Tortures, by which they violently extorted from the miserable and innocent Criminals, that they might deliver themselves from their Torments, whatsoever the delegated Judges would have them confess, tho' generally contrary to Truth. And for this Reason 'twas justly said, that it was invented not for the sake of defending Religion, which the primitive Church had provided for by a quite different Method, but that by this Means they might

strip all Men of their Fortunes, and bring innocent Persons into Danger of being destroyed.

1. 2. t. 3. The Papists indeed glory, that the Inquisition
c. 4, 5. is the most certain Remedy to extirpate Heresies. And because the Inquisition is so effectual a Method to extirpate Heresies, *Ludovicus a Paramo* gathers from thence that it was ordained for this Purpose, by the most wise Providence of God. But what is really unjust in it self, and carried on by unjust Methods, cannot have God for its Author; nor is Success any Argument that the Inquisition is from God. The first Inquiry is, whether it be suitable to the Nature of the Christian Doctrine? If it be not, 'tis then unjust and Anti-christian. Many Things are unrighteously undertaken by Men, and accomplished by Violence and Cruelty, by which Innocence is oppressed; which, altho' God in his just and wise Counsel permits, he is far from approving. Even in *Japan*, a cruel Persecution hath extinguished the Christian Religion, as preached by the *Roman* Priests; so that the *Roman* Catholick Religion is equally extinguished there by the Violence of Persecutions, as those Doctrines are in *Spain*, which are contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and which they render odious by the infamous Name of Heresy. And yet they will not allow that any just Argument can be drawn from hence, to prove that that Persecution was given by divine Providence, as a most effectual Remedy for the Extirpation of their Religion. If other Parties of Christians would use the same Diligence and Cruelty of Inquisition against them, I may venture to affirm, that they themselves could not withstand it; but that within a few Years the Popish Religion would be extinguished in all Protestant Countries, and scarce a single Person left
who

who would dare to profess it. But God forbid that the Christian Religion should ever be propagated this way, which doth not consist in a feigned and hypocritical Profession, but in a sincere and undissembled Faith. And therefore, as no one ought to assume to himself the Power of Judging concerning it, but God the Searcher of Hearts, to him only let us leave it to pass the true Judgment concerning every Man's Belief. Let us in the mean while detest the Tyranny of the Papists; and strive to reduce those, who, in our Judgment, hold Errors, into the Way of Truth, by the good Offices of Charity and Benevolence, without arrogating to our selves a Judgment over the Consciences of others. And out of a serious Regard to the last great Day of Judgment, let us approve our Consciences to God; and every one of us, expecting from his Mercy an equitable and righteous Judgment, pray without ceasing: **ARISE, O LORD, AND PLEAD THY OWN CAUSE.**



BOOK IV.

Of Persecutions amongst PROTESTANTS.

AFTER the World had groaned for many Ages under the insupportable Bondage of Popish Superstition and Cruelty, it pleased God, in his own good Providence, to take the Remedy of these Evils into his own Hands; and after several ineffectual Attempts by Men, at last to bring about a Reformation of Religion by his own Wisdom and Power. The History of this great Event hath been very particularly and faithfully given by many excellent Writers, to which I must here refer my Readers; and it must be owned, that the Persons employ'd by Almighty God, to accomplish this great Work, were, many of them, remarkable for their great Learning and exemplary Piety. I am sure I have no Inclination to detract from their Worth and Merit. One would indeed have imagined, that the Cruelties exercised by the Papists upon all who opposed their Superstitions in Worship, and their Corruptions in Doctrine, should have given the first Reformers an utter Abhorrence of all Methods of Persecution for Conscience-sake, and have kept them from ever entering into any such Measures themselves. But it must be confessed, that however they differed from the Church of *Rome*, as to Doctrines and Discipline, yet, that they too generally agreed with her, in the Methods to support what they themselves apprehended to be Truth and Orthodoxy; and were angry with the Papists, not for persecuting, but for persecuting them-

themselves and their Followers; being really of opinion that Hereticks might be persecuted, and, in some Cases, persecuted to Death. And that this was their avowed Principle, they gave abundant Demonstration by their Practice.

S E C T I.

LUTHER's Opinion concerning Persecution.

Luther, that great Instrument, under God, of the Reformation in Germany, was, as his Followers allow, naturally of a warm and violent Temper, but was however in his Judgment against punishing Hereticks with Death. Thus, in his Account of the State of the Popish Church, as related by Seckendorf, he says: *The true Church teaches the Word of God, but forces no one to it. If any one will not believe it, she dismisses him, and separates her self from him, according to the Command of Christ, and the Example of Paul in the Acts, and leaves him to the Judgment of God: Whereas our Executioners, and most cruel Tyrants, teach not the Word of God, but their own Articles, acting as they please, and then adjudge those who refuse to believe their Articles, and obey their Decrees, to the Fires.* The same Author gives us many other strong Passages to the same Purpose. Particularly, in one of his Letters to Lincus, who ask'd his Opinion about the Punishment of false Teachers, Luther says: *I am very averse to the shedding of Blood, even in the Case of such as deserve it: And the more especially dread it in this Case, because, as the Papists and Jews, under this Pretence, have destroy'd holy Prophets and innocent Men; so I am afraid the same would happen amongst our selves, if in one single Instance it should be allow'd lawful for*

Seducers to be put to Death. I can therefore, by no Means, allow that false Teachers should be destroy'd. But as to all other Punishments, Luther seems to have been of Austin's Mind, and thought that they might be lawfully used. For, after the before-mention'd Passage, he adds, 'Tis sufficient that they should be banished. And in another Place,

Ibid. Sect. he allows, that *Hereticks may be corrected, and*
 36. § 83. *forced at least to silence, if they publickly deny any one of the Articles received by all Christians, and particularly that Christ is God; affirming him to be a mere Man or Prophet. This, says he, is not to force Men to the Faith, but to restrain publick Blasphemy. In another Place he goes farther, and says, that*

1. 3. Sect. *Hereticks are not indeed to be put to Death, but may*
 8. § 28. *however be confined, and shut up in some certain Place, and put under Restraint as Madmen. As to the*

1. 3. Sect. *Jews, he was for treating them more severely; and was of opinion, that their Synagogues should be*
 27. § 3. *levelled with the Ground, their Houses destroy'd, their Books of Prayer, and of the Talmud, and even those of the Old Testament, be taken from them; their Rabbies be forbid to teach, and forced, by hard Labour, to get their Bread; and if they would not submit to this, that they should be banished, as was formerly practis'd in France and Spain.*

1. 3. Sect. This was the Moderation of this otherwise
 32. § 425. *great and good Man, who was indeed against putting Hereticks to Death, but for almost all other Punishments that the civil Magistrate could inflict: And, agreeably to this Opinion, he persuaded the Electors of Saxony not to tolerate, in their Dominions, the Followers of Zuinglius, in the Opinion of the Sacrament, because he esteemed the real Presence an essential or fundamental Article of Faith; nor to enter into any Terms of Union with them, for their common Safety and*
 Defence,

Defence, against the Endeavours of the Papists to destroy them. And accordingly, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the *Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*, to get them included in the common League against the Papists, the Elector would never allow it, being vehemently dissuaded from it by *Luther*, *Melancton*, and others of their Party, who alleged, *That they taught Articles contrary to those received in* 1. 2. Sect. Saxony; *and that therefore there could be no Agree-* 6. § 11. *ment of Heart with them.*

In one of his Conferences with *Bucer*, he declared, That there could be no Union, unless *Zuinglius* and his Party should think and teach otherwise; cursing all Phrases and Interpretations that tended to assert the figurative Presence only; affirming, that *either those of his own Opi-* Sect. 17. *nion, or those of Zuinglius, must be the Ministers of* § 47. *the Devil.* On this Account, though *Luther* was for treating *Zuinglius* and his Followers with as much Christian Friendship as he could afford them, yet he would never own them for Brethren, but looked on them as Hereticks, and pressed the Electors of *Saxony* not to allow them in their Dominions. He also wrote to *Albert* 1. 3. Sect. Duke of *Prussia*, to persuade him to banish them 6. § 15. his Territories. *Seckendorf* also tells us, that the Sect. 13. *Lutheran Lawyers of Wittemburg* condemned to § 41. *Death one Peter Pestelius*, for being a *Zuinglian*; *Ibid.* though this was disapproved by the Elector of *Saxony*. Several also of the Anabaptists were put to Death by the *Lutherans*, for their Obstinacy in propagating their Errors, contrary to the Judgment of the *Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*, who declared himself for more moderate Measures, and for uniting all sorts of Protestants amongst themselves.

S E C T. II.

CALVIN'S Doctrine and Practice concerning Persecution.

Calvin.

John Calvin, another of the Reformers, and to whom the Christian World is, on many Accounts, under very great Obligations, was however well known to be in Principle and Practice a Persecutor. So entirely was he in the persecuting Measures, that he wrote a Treatise in Defence of them, maintaining the Lawfulness of putting Hereticks to Death. And that by Hereticks he meant such who differed from himself, is evident from his Treatment of *Castellio* and *Servetus*.

The former, not inferior to *Calvin* himself in Learning and Piety, had the Misfortune to differ from him in Judgment, in the Points of Predestination, Election, Free-will and Faith. This *Calvin* could not bear, and therefore treated *Castellio* in so rude and cruel a Manner, as I believe his warmest Friends will be ashamed to justify. In some of his Writings he calls him *Blasphemer*, *Reviler*, *malicious barking Dog*, *full of Ignorance*, *Bestiality and Impudence*; *Impostor*, *a base Corrupter of the Sacred Writings*, *a Mocker of God*, *a Contemner of all Religion*, *an impudent Fellow*, *a filthy Dog*, *a Knave*, *an impious*, *leud*, *crooked-minded Vagabond*, *beggarly Rogue*. At other Times he calls him *a Disciple and Brother of Servetus*, and *an Heretick*. *Castellio's* Reply to all these Flowers, is worthy the Patience and Moderation of a Christian, and from his Slanderer he appeals to the righteous Judgment of God.

But

But not content with these Invectives, *Calvin* farther accused him of three Crimes; which *Castellio* particularly answers. The first was of Theft, in taking away some Wood, that belonged to another Person, to make a Fire to warm himself withal: This *Calvin* calls *Cursed Gain, at another's Expence and Damage*; whereas, in truth, the Fact was this. *Castellio* was thrown into such Circumstances of Poverty by the Persecutions of *Calvin* and his Friends, that he was scarce able to maintain himself. And as he dwelt near the Banks of the *Rhine*, he used at leisure Hours to draw out of the River, with an Hook, the Wood that was brought down by the Waters of it. This Wood was no private Property, but every Man's that could catch it. *Castellio* took it in the Middle of the Day, and amongst a great Number of Fishermen, and several of his own Acquaintance; and was sometimes paid Money for it by the Decree of the Senate. This the charitable *Calvin* magnifies into a Theft, and publishes to the World to paint out the Character of his Christian Brother.

But his Accusations ran farther yet; and he calls God to witness, that whilst he maintained *Castellio* in his House, he never saw any one more proud or perfidious, or void of Humanity; and 'twas well known he was an Impostor, of a peculiar Impudence, and one that took pleasure in scoffing at Piety, and that he delighted himself in laughing at the Principles of Religion. These Charges *Castellio* answers in such a Manner, as was enough to put even Malice it self to silence. For, notwithstanding *Calvin's* Appeal to God for the Truth of these Things, yet he himself, and two of his principal Friends, who were eminent Preachers in *Savoy*, pressed *Castellio*, even contrary to his Inclination,

to take the Charge of a School at *Stratsburg*: And therefore, as he says to *Calvin*, *With what Conscience could you make me Master, if you knew me to be such a Person, when I dwelt in your House? What Sort of Men must they be, who would commit the Education of Children to such a wicked Wretch, as you appeal to God you knew me to be?*

But what is yet more to the Purpose, is, that after he had been Master of that School three Years, *Calvin* gave him a Testimonial, written and signed with his own Hand, as to the Integrity of his past Behaviour; affirming, amongst other Things, that *he had behaved himself in such a Manner, that he was, by the Consent of all of them, appointed to the Pastoral Office.* And in the Conclusion he adds, *Lest any one should suspect any other Reason why Sebastian went from us, we testify to all wheresoever he may come, that he himself voluntarily left the School, and so behaved himself in it, as that we adjudged him worthy this sacred Ministry.* And that he was not actually received into it, was *non aliqua vitæ macula*, not owing to any Blemish of his Life, nor to any impious Tenets that he held in Matters of Faith, but to this only Cause, the Difference of our Opinions about *Solomon's Songs*, and the Article of *Christ's Descent into Hell*. But how is this Testimonial, that *Castellio* had no *macula vitæ*, was unblameable as to his Life, reconcileable with the Appeal to God, that he was proud and perfidious, and void of Humanity, and a professed Scoffer at Religion, whilst he dwelt at *Calvin's House*? If this Charge was true, How came *Calvin* and his Friends to appoint him Master of a School, and judge him worthy the sacred Ministry? Or if he was of so bad a Character once, and afterwards gave the Evidence of a sincere Repentance by an irreproachable Behaviour,

viour, what Equity or Justice, what Humanity or Honour was there, in publishing to the World Faults that had been repented of and forsaken? *Casellio* solemnly protests that he had never injured *Calvin*, and that the sole Reason of his Displeasure against him was because he differed from him in Opinion. On this Account he endeavoured to render him every where Impious, prohibited the Reading of his Books; and, what is the last Effort of Enmity, endeavoured to excite the civil Magistrate against him to put him to Death. But God was pleased to protect this good Man from the Rage of his Enemies. He died at *Basil*, in Peace; and received an honourable Burial, the just Reward of his Piety, Learning, and Merit.

I may add to this Account, *Calvin's* Treatment of one *Jerom Bolfec*, who from a Carmelite Monk had embraced the reformed Religion, but held the Doctrine of Free-will and Predestination upon the Foresight of good Works. *Calvin* was present at a Sermon preached by him at *Geneva*, upon these Articles; and the Sermon being ended, publicly opposed him in the Congregation. When the Assembly was dismissed, poor *Bolfec* was immediately apprehended, and sent to Prison; and soon after, by *Calvin's* Counsel, banished for Sedition and *Pelagianism* from the City, and forbid ever to come into it, or the Territories of it, under pain of being whipped, A. C. 1551.

Bez. in vit.
Calvin.

But *Calvin's* Treatment of the unfortunate *Servetus* was yet more severe. His Book, entitled, *Restitutio Christianismi*, which he sent in MS. to *Calvin*, enraged him to that Degree, that he afterwards kept no Temper or Measures with him; so that as *Bolfec* and *Uytendogaert* relate, in a Letter written by him to his Friends *Viret* and *Farel*, he

tells

Biblioth. tells them, That if this Heretick (*Servetus*) should
 Raïson. ever fall into his Hands, he would take care that he
 Pour d' should lose his Life. *Servetus's* Imprisonment at
 Octobre, *Vienne*, soon gave him an Opportunity to shew
 &c. 1728. his Zeal against him: For, in order to strengthen
 Art. VIII. the Evidence against him, *Calvin* sent to the Ma-
 gistrates of that City the Letters and Writings
 which *Servetus* had sent to him at *Geneva*. This
 is evident from the Sentence it self against him;
 in which those Writings, as well as his printed
 Book, are expressly mentioned, as containing the
 Proofs of his Heresy. Whether *Calvin* sent them
 of his own Accord, or at the Desire of the Ma-
 gistrates of *Vienne*, I shall not presume to deter-
 mine. If of his own Accord, it was a base Offi-
 cioufness; and if at the Request of those Ma-
 gistrates, it was a most unaccountable Conduct
 in a Protestant to send Evidence to a Popish Court
 to put a Protestant to Death; especially consider-
 ing that *Servetus* could not differ more from *Calvin*
 than *Calvin* did from the Papists, their common
 Adversaries, and who certainly deserved as much
 to be burnt, in their Judgment, as *Servetus* did
 in *Calvin's*.

Besides this, *Servetus* farther charges him with
 writing to one *William Trie* at *Lyons*, to furnish
 the Magistrates of that City with Matter of Ac-
 cusation against him. The Author of the *Biblio-
 theque* beforementioned, says this is a mere Ro-
 mance, dressed up by *Servetus*. I confess it doth
 not appear to me in so very romantick a Light;
 at least *Calvin's* Vindication of himself, from this
 Charge, doth not seem to be altogether sufficient.
 He says, 'Tis commonly reported that I occasioned *Ser-
 vetus* to be apprehended at *Vienne*; on which Ac-
 count 'tis said, by many, that I have acted dishonou-
 rably, in thus exposing him to the mortal Enemies of
 the

the Faith, as though I had thrown him into the Mouth of the Wolves. But, I beseech you, how came I so suddenly into such an Intimacy with the Pope's Officers? 'Tis very likely, truly, that we should correspond together by Letters; and that those who agree with me, just as Belial doth with Jesus Christ, should enter into a Plot with their mortal Enemy, as with their Companion: This silly Calumny will fall to the Ground, when I shall say, in one Word, that there is nothing in it. But how doth all this confute Servetus's Charge? For whatever Differences soever there might be between Calvin and the Papists in some Things, yet, why might he not write to the Papists at Vienne to put Servetus to Death for what was equally counted Heresy by them both, and when they agreed as the most intimate Friends and Companions in the Lawfulness of putting Hereticks to Death? What Calvin says of the Absurdity of their Intimacy and Conspiracy with him their mortal Enemy, is no Absurdity at all. Herod and Pontius Pilate, tho' Enemies, agreed in the Condemnation of the Son of God.

Besides, 'tis certain, that the Magistrates at Vienne had Servetus's Manuscripts sent to them from Geneva, either by Calvin, or the Magistrates of that City; and when Servetus was afterwards apprehended at Geneva, the Magistrates there sent a Messenger to Vienne, for a Copy of the Process that had been there carried on against him; which that Messenger received, and actually brought back to Geneva. So that nothing is more evident, than that there was an Intimacy and Conspiracy between the Protestants of Geneva and the Papists at Vienne, to take away the Life of poor Servetus; and that, though they were mortal Enemies in other Things, and as far different from one another as Christ and Belial, yet that

that they agreed harmoniously in the Doctrine and Practice of Persecution, and were one in the Design and Endeavour of murdering this unhappy Physician. And though *Calvin* is pleased magisterially to deny his having any Communication by Letters with the Papists at *Vienne*, yet I think his Denial far from sufficient to remove the Suspicion. He himself expressly says, that many Persons blamed him for not acting honourably in that Affair; and the Accusation was supported by *Servetus's* Complaint, and by what is a much stronger Evidence, the original Papers and Letters which *Servetus* had sent to *Calvin*, which were actually produced by the Judges at *Vienne*, and recited in the Sentence as part of the Foundation of his Condemnation. And as *Calvin* himself never, as I can find, hath attempted to clear up these strong Circumstances, though he owed it to himself and his Friends, I think he can't well be excused from practising the Death of *Servetus* at *Vienne*, and lending his Assistance to the bloody Papists of that Place, the more effectually to procure his Condemnation.

But he had the good Fortune to make his Escape from Imprisonment, and was, *June 17, 1553*, condemned for Contumacy, and burnt in Effigie by the Order of his Judges; having himself got safe to *Geneva*, where he was re-condemned, and actually burnt in Person, *October 27*. of the same Year, 1553. He had not been long in this City before *Calvin* spirited up one *Nicholas de la Fountain*, probably one of his Pupils, to make Information against him; wisely avoiding it himself, because, according to the Laws of *Geneva*, the Accuser must submit to Imprisonment with the Party he accuses, till the Crime appears to have a solid Foundation and Proof. Upon this In-
formation

formation *Servetus* was apprehended and imprisoned. *Calvin* ingenuously owns ^a, That this whole Affair was carried on at his Instance and Advice; and that, in order to bring *Servetus* to Reason, he himself found out the Party to accuse him, and begin the Process against him. And therefore, though, as the forementioned Author of the *Bibliothèque* for *Jan. &c.* 1729. observes, the Action, after its Commencement, was carried on according to the Course of Law; yet, as *Calvin* accused him for Heresy, got him imprison'd, and began the criminal Process against him, he is answerable for all the Consequences of his Trial, and was in reality the first and principal Author of his Death; especially as the penal Laws against Hereticks seem at that Time to have been in force at *Geneva*, so that *Servetus* could not escape the Fire upon his Conviction of Heresy.

When he was in Jail, he was treated with the same Rigour as if he had been detained in one of the Prisons of the Inquisition. He was stripped of all Means of procuring himself the Conveniences and Supplies he needed in his Confinement. They took from him ninety-seven Pieces of Gold, a gold Chain worth twenty Crowns, six gold Rings, and at last put him into a deep Dungeon, where he was almost eaten up with Vermin. All this Cruelty was practised upon a Protestant, in the Protestant City of *Geneva*. Besides this, he could never get a Proctor or Advocate to assist him, or help him in pleading his Cause, though he requested it, as being a Stranger, and igno-

^a Unus ex Syndicis, me autore, in carcerem duci jussit. Epist. ad *Sulzer*. Quum agnitus fuisset, retinendum putavi. *Nicholaus* meus ad capitale judicium ipsum vocavit. Epist. ad *Farrel*.

rant of the Laws and Customs of the Country. *Calvin*, at the Request of the Judges, drew up certain Propositions out of *Servetus's* Books, representing them as blasphemous, full of Errors and profane Reveries, all repugnant to the Word of God, and to the common Consent of the whole Church; and, indeed, appears to have been acquainted with, and consulted in the whole Process, and to have used all his Arts and Endeavours to prevent his coming off with Impunity.

Epist. ad
Farrel.

'Tis but a poor and mean Excuse that *Calvin* makes for himself in this Respect, when he says; *As to the Fact, I will not deny, but that 'twas at my Prosecution he was imprison'd:—But that after he was convicted of his Heresies, I made no Instances for his being put to Death.* But what need of Instances? He had already accused him, got him imprison'd, prosecuted in a criminal Court for the capital Crime of Heresy, and actually drew up forty Articles against him for Heresy, Blasphemy, and false Doctrine. When he was convicted of these Crimes, the Law could not but take its Course; and his being burnt to Death was the necessary Consequence of his Conviction. What occasion was there then for *Calvin* to press his Execution, when the Laws themselves had adjudged him to the Flames? But even this Excuse, poor as it is, is not sincerely and honestly made: For *Calvin* was resolved to use all his Interest to destroy him. In his Letter to *Farrel* he expressly says, ^b *I hope, at least, they will condemn him to Death, but not to the terrible one of being burnt.*

^b Spero capitale saltem fore Judicium: Poenæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio. Epist. ad *Farrel*. Cras ad supplicium ductur. Genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed frustra. Altera Epist. ad *Farrel*.

And in another to *Saltzer*, ^c *Since the Papists, in order to vindicate their own Superstitions, cruelly shed innocent Blood, 'tis a Shame that Christian Magistrates should have no Courage at all in the Defence of certain Truth.*——However, I will certify you of one Thing, that the City Treasurer is rightly determined, that he shall not escape that End which we wish him. And in another to the Church at *Franckfort*, ^d *The Author* Epist. ad Farrel. *(Servetus) is put in Jail by our Magistrates, and I hope he'll shortly suffer the Punishment he deserves.* There was but one Way possible for him to escape; and that was by bringing his Cause from the criminal Court, where he was prosecuted, before the Council of the two Hundred. And this *Calvin* vigorously opposed, and reflected on the Syndick himself for endeavouring it. He says, that he pretended Illness for three Days, and then came into Court to save that Wretch (*Servetus*) from Punishment; and was not ashamed to demand, that the Cognizance of the Affair should be referred to the two Hundred. However, he was unanimously condemned. Now, what great Difference is there between a Prosecutor's endeavouring to prevent the only Method by which a Criminal can be saved, and his actually pressing for his being put to Death? *Calvin* actually did the former, and yet would fain persuade us he had no hand in the latter.

'Tis much of a piece with this, his desiring that the Rigour of *Servetus's* Death might be

^c Quum tam acres sunt & animosi superstitionum suarum vindices Papistæ, ut atrociter sæviant ad fundendum innoxium sanguinem, pudeat Christianos Magistratus in tuenda certa veritate nihil prorsus habere animi.——Tantum unius rei te admonitum volo, Quæstorem Urbis——in hac causa recto esse animo, ut saltem exitum quem optamus non fugiat.

^d Auctor ipse tenetur in carcere a Magistratu nostro, & propediem, ut spero, daturus est pœnas.

mitigated; for as the Laws against Hereticks were in force at *Geneva*, the Tribunal that judged *Servetus* could not, after his Conviction of Heresy, absolve him from Death, nor change the Manner of it, as *Calvin* says he would have had it; and therefore his desiring that the Rigour of it might be abated, looks too much like the Practice of the Inquisitors, who when they deliver over an Heretick to the secular Arm, beseech it so to moderate the Rigour of the Sentence, as not to endanger Life or Limb.

This was the Part that *Calvin* acted in the Affair of *Servetus*, which I have represented in the most impartial Manner, as it appears to me; and am sorry I am not able to wipe off so foul a Stain from the Memory of this otherwise excellent and learned Reformer. But when his Enemies charge him with acting merely from Principles of Malice and Revenge in this Matter, I think it an evident Abuse and Calumny. He was, in his own Judgment, for persecuting and destroying Hereticks, as appears from the Treatise he published in Vindication of this Practice, entitled, *° A Declaration for maintaining the true Faith, held by all Christians, concerning the Trinity of Persons in One only God, by John Calvin, against the detestable Errors of Michael Servetus, a Spaniard. In which 'tis also proved, that it is lawful to punish Hereticks; and that this Wretch was justly executed in the City of Geneva. Geneva, 1554.*

° Declaration pour maintenir le vraye Foy que tiennent tous Chretiens de la Trinite des Personnes en un seul Dieu; par Jean Calvin, contre les Erreurs detestables de Michael Servetus, Espagnol, ou il est aussi monstre qu'il est licite de punir les Heretiques; & qu' a bon droit ces Meschant a etc execute par Justice en la ville de Geneve. A Geneve, 1554.

This

This Principle was maintained by almost all the Fathers and Bishops of the Church since the three first Centuries, who esteemed Heresy as one of the worst of Impieties, and thought it the Duty of the civil Magistrates to employ their Power for the Suppression of it, and for the Support and Establishment of the orthodox Faith. And though the first Reformers abhorred the Cruelty of the Papists towards the Protestants, they had nevertheless the same Abhorrence of what they counted Heresy that the Papists had, and agreed with them in the Lawfulness of suppressing it by the civil Power. So that Calvin acted in this Affair from a Principle, though a mistaken Principle of Conscience, and had the Encouragement and Approbation of the most learned and pious Reformers of the Times he lived in.

Melancton, in a Letter to Bullinger, says, *I have read also what you have written concerning the Blasphemies of Servetus, and I approve your Piety and Judgment. I think also, that the Senate of Geneva have done right, that they have put to Death that obstinate Person, who would not cease to blaspheme; and I wonder that there are any who disapprove that Severity.* He affirms the same also in another Letter to Calvin himself. Bucer also said publickly in his Sermon, that he ought to have his Bowels pulled out, and be torn in pieces, as Calvin relates it in his Letter to Sultzer. Farrel in a Letter to Calvin says, that he deserved to die ten thousand Deaths; that it would be a Piece of Cruelty, and an Injustice to Christ, and the Doctrine of Piety, for Magistrates not to take notice of the horrible Blasphemies of that wicked Heretick. And he hoped God would so order it, that as the Magistrates of Geneva were very Praise-worthy for punishing Thieves and sacrilegious

Calv. Op.
Vol. ult.

crilegious Persons, so they would behave themselves well in the Affair of Servetus, by putting him to Death, who had so long obstinately persisted in his Heresies, and destroy'd so many Persons by them.

Ibid.

The Pastors of the Church at *Basil*, in their Letter to the Syndicks and Senate of *Geneva*, express their Joy for the Apprehension of *Servetus*, and advise them first to use all Endeavours to recover him; but that if he persisted in his Perverseness, they should punish him according to their Office, and the Power they had received from God, to prevent his giving any Disturbance to the Church, and lest the latter End should be worst than the first.

Ibid.

The Ministers of the Church of *Bern* were of the same Opinion; and in their Letter to the Magistrates of *Geneva* say, *We pray the Lord that he would give you the Spirit of Prudence, Counsel and Strength, to remove this Plague from the Churches, both your own and others, and advise them to neglect nothing that may be judged unworthy a Christian Magistrate to omit.* The Ministers of *Zurich* give much the same Advice, and thought that there was need of a great deal of Diligence in the Affair; especially as the reformed Churches were evil thought of, amongst other Reasons for this, as being themselves heretical, and Favourers of Hereticks.

Ibid.

But that, as the Providence of God had given them an Opportunity of wiping off so evil a Suspicion, and preventing the farther spreading of so contagious a Poison, they did not doubt but their Excellencies would be careful to improve it. Those of *Scaffhusen* subscribed to the Judgment of those of *Zurich*, and declare, that they did not doubt, but that their Prudence would put a stop to the Attempts of *Servetus*, lest his Blasphemies, as a Canker, should eat up the Members of Christ; adding these remarkable Words, *That to endeavour to oppose*

Ibid.

his

his Dreams by a Train of Reasoning, what would it be, but to grow mad with a Madman?

These Extracts, which are taken out of the Letters printed at the End of *Calvin's* Institutions, clearly demonstrate that he acted seriously and deliberately in the Affair of *Servetus*; and that he consulted the neighbouring Churches, and had their Opinion of the Lawfulness and Expediency of putting him to Death for his Heresies. And though it doth not wholly excuse his Fault, yet it ought in Justice to be allowed as an Abatement and Extenuation of it; and, I think, evidently proves, what his Enemies are very unwilling to allow, that he was not transported by Rage and Fury, and did not act merely from the Dictates of Envy and Malice, but from a mistaken Zeal against what he accounted Blasphemy and Heresy, and with the concurrent Advice of his Brethren in the Ministry, and Fellow-Labourers in the great Work of the Reformation. And I think his eminent Services to the Church of God, both by his Preaching and Writings, ought, notwithstanding all his Failings, to secure to his Memory the Honour and Respect that is due to it: For he deserved well of all the reformed Churches, and was an eminent Instrument in the Hand of Providence, in promoting the great and glorious Work of saving Men from the gross Errors, Superstitions, and Idolatries of the *Romish* Church. And as I thought my self obliged impartially to represent these Things as they appear'd to me, I hope all who love to distinguish themselves by *Calvin's* Name, will be careful not to imitate him in this great Blemish of his Life, which, in reality, hath tarnish'd a Character, that would otherwise have appeared amongst the first and brightest of the Age he lived in.

In the Year 1632. after *Calvin's* Death, one *Nicholas Anthoine* was condemned also by the Council of *Geneva* to be first hanged, and afterwards burnt; because, that having forgotten the Fear of God, he had committed the Crime of Apostacy and High-Treason against God, by having opposed the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, blasphemed his holy Name, renounced his Baptism, and the like.

S E C T. III.

Persecutions at Bern, Basil, and Zurich.

Beza in
vit. Calv.
B. Arer.
Hist. Val.
Gent.

V *Alestinus Gentilis*, a Native of *Cosentia* in *Italy*, had the Misfortune also to fall into some heterodox Opinions concerning the Trinity, and held, that the Father alone was *αυτοθεος*, God of himself, *αγεννητος*, unbegotten, *Essentiator*, the Giver of Essence to all other Beings; but that the Son was *Essentiatus*, of a derived Essence from the Father, and therefore not *αυτοθεος*, or God of himself, though at the same Time he allowed him to be truly God. He held much the same as to the Holy Ghost, making them Three eternal Spirits, distinguish'd by a gradual and due Subordination, reserving the Monarchy to the Father, whom he stiled the One only God. Being forced to fly his native Country, on account of his Religion, he came to *Geneva*, where there was a Church of *Italian* Refugees, several of whom, such as *G. Blandrata*, a Physician, *Gribaldus*, a Lawyer, and *Paulus Alciatus*, differ'd from the commonly received Notions of the Trinity. When their Heterodoxes came to be known at *Geneva*, they were cited before the Senators, Ministers, and

and Presbyters; and being heard in their own Defence, were refuted by *Calvin*, and all subscribed to the orthodox Faith.

But *V. Gentilis* having after this endeavoured to propagate his own Opinions, he was again apprehended, and forced by *Calvin* and others to a publick Abjuration, and condemned *An. 1558.* to an exemplary Penance, viz. "That he should
" be stripped close to his Shirt, then bare-foot
" and bare-headed should carry in his Hand a
" lighted Torch, and beg God and the Court's
" Pardon on his Knees, by confessing himself
" maliciously and wickedly to have spread Abroad
" a false and heretical Doctrine; but that he did
" now from his Heart detest and abhor those
" abominable, lying, and blasphemous Books,
" he had composed in its Defence; in testimony
" of which he was to cast them, with his own
" Hands, into the Flames, there to be burnt to
" Ashes. And for more ample Satisfaction, he
" was enjoined to be led through all the Streets
" of *Geneva*, at the sound of Trumpet, in his
" penitential Habit, and strictly commanded not
" to depart the City without Permission." And
this Penance he actually underwent.

But having found means to make his Escape, he came at last to *Gaium*, a Prefecture, subject to the Canton of *Bern*, where he was seized and imprisoned by the Governor, who immediately sent an Account of his Apprehension to the Senate of *Bern*, who ordered him to be brought Prisoner to that City, where they put him in Jail. After they had seized all his Books and Papers, they collected several Articles, with the Heads of an Indictment out of them to be preferred against him. Amongst others these were two, 1. *That*
he dissented from us, and all the Orthodox, in the

Doctrine of the Trinity. And, 2. *That his Writings contain'd many impious Blasphemies concerning the Trinity.* And because he continued obstinate in his Opinions, notwithstanding the Endeavours of the Divines to convert him, he was condemned by the Senate, for his Blasphemies against the Son of God, and the glorious Mystery of the Trinity, to be beheaded; which Sentence was executed on him in *September, Anno 1566.*

Brandt

Hist. Book

3. P. 77.

At *Basil* also Heresy was a Crime punishable with Death, since the Reformation, as appears from the Treatment of the dead Body of *David George*, an enthusiastical Anabaptist. Having left *Holland* he went to *Basil*, and settled there as one that was banished out of his Country for the sake of his Religion, propagating his own Doctrines by Letters, Books, and Messengers in *Holland*. But his Errors being discovered after his Death, he was taken out of his Grave, and together with his Books and Pictures burnt to Ashes, by order of the Magistrates, at the Place of Execution, without the Walls of *Basil*, *May 13, 1559.* His Opinions were first extracted from the printed Books and Manuscript Papers found in his House, and himself declared an Arch-Heretick.

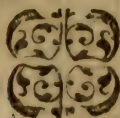
Book 2.

P. 57.

Zurich also furnishes us with an Instance of great Cruelty towards an Anabaptist. A severe Edict was published against them, in which there was a Penalty of a silver Mark, about four Shillings *English* Money, set upon all such as should suffer themselves to be re-baptized, or should with-hold Baptism from their Children. And it was farther declared, That those who openly opposed this Order, should be yet more severely treated. Accordingly one *Felix* was drowned at *Zurich*, upon the Sentence pronounced by *Zuinglius*, in these four Words, *Qui interum mergit, mergatur :*

mergatur : He that re-dips, let him be drowned. This happen'd in the Year 1526. About the same Time also, and since, there were some more of them put to Death. From the same Place also *Ochinus* Beza, was banished, in his old Age, in the Depth of Epist. 1. Winter, together with his Children, because he was an *Arian*, and defended Polygamy, if *Beza's* Account of him be true.

Lubieniecus, a Polish Unitarian, was, through Vit. Lub. the Practices of the Calvinists, banished with his Præf. Hist. Brethren from Poland, his native Country; and Reformat. forced to leave several Protestant Cities of Ger- Polon. many, to which he had fled for Refuge, particularly *Stetin*, *Frederickstadt*, and *Hamburgh*, thro' the Practices of the Lutheran Divines, who were against all Toleration. At *Hamburgh* he received the Orders of the Magistrates of the City to depart the Place on his Death-bed; and when his dead Body was carried to *Altenau* to be interr'd, though the Preachers could not, as they endeavour'd, prevent his being buried in the Church, yet they did actually prevent the usual funeral Honours being paid him. *John Sylvanus*, Super-Lub. Hist. intendant of the Church of *Heidelberg*, was put l. 2. c. 5. to Death by order of *Frederick Elector Palatine*, An. 1571. being accused of *Arianism*.



S E C T. IV.

Persecutions in Holland, and by the Synod of Dort.

IF we pass over into *Holland*, we shall also find that the Reformers there were most of them in the Principles and Measures of Persecution, and managed their Differences with that Heat and Fury, as gave great Advantages to the Papists, their common Enemies. In the very Infancy of the Reformation the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* condemned each other for their supposed Heterodoxy in the Affair of the Sacrament, and looked upon Compliance and mutual Toleration to be Things intolerable. These Differences were kept up principally by the Clergy of each Party. The Prince of *Orange*, and States of *Holland*, who were heartily inclined to the Reformation, were not for confining their Protection to any particular Set of Principles or Opinions, but for granting an universal Indulgence in all Matters of Religion, aiming at Peace and mutual Forbearance, and to open the Church as wide as possible for all Christians of unblameable Lives; whereas the Clergy being biased by their Passions and Inclinations for those Masters, in whose Writings they had been instructed, endeavoured with all their Might to establish and conciliate Authority to their respective Opinions; aiming only at Decisions and Definitions, and shutting up the Church by Limitations in many doubtful and disputable Articles; so that the Disturbances which were raised, and the Severities which were used upon the Account of Religion, proceeded from the Bigotry of the Clergy,
contrary

contrary to the Desire and Intention of the civil Magistrate.

Before the Ministers of the reformed Party ^{Brandt.} were engaged in the Controversy with *Arminius*, ^{Hist. V. 2.} their Zeal was continually exerting it self against ^{l. 17.} the Anabaptists, whom they declared to be excommunicated and cut off from the Church, and endeavoured to convert by Violence and Force, prohibiting them from Preaching under Fines, and banishing them their Country, upon account of their Opinions. And the better to colour these Proceedings, some of them wrote in Defence of Persecution; or, which is the same Thing, against the Toleration of any Religion or Opinions different from their own; and for the better Support of Orthodoxy, they would have had the Synods ordain, that all Church Officers should renew their Subscriptions to the Confession and Catechism every Year, that hereby they might the better know who had changed their Sentiments, and differed from the received Faith. This Practice was perfectly agreeable to the *Geneva* Discipline; *Calvin* himself, as hath been shewn, being in Judgment for persecuting Hereticks; and *Beza* having wrote a Treatise, *An. 1600.* to prove the Lawfulness of punishing them. This Book was translated from the *Latin* into the *Low Dutch* Language by *Bogerman*, afterwards President of the Synod of *Dort*, and published with a Dedication, and Recommendation of it to the Magistrates. The Consequence of this was, that very severe Placarts were published against the Anabaptists in *Friesland* and *Groningen*, whereby they were forbidden to preach; and all Persons prohibited from letting their Houses and Grounds to them, under the Penalty of a large Fine, or Confinement to Bread and Water for fourteen Days.

Days. If they offended the third Time, they were to be banished the City, and the Jurisdiction thereof. Whosoever was discovered to re-baptize any Person, should forfeit twenty Dollars; and upon a second Conviction be put to Bread and Water, and then be banished. Unbaptized Children were made incapable of inheriting; and if any one married out of the reformed Church, he was declared incapable of inheriting any Estate, and the Children made illegitimate.

But the Controversy that made the greatest Noise, and produced the most remarkable Effects, was that carried on between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. *Jacobus Arminius*, one of the Professors of Divinity at *Leyden*, disputing in his Turn about the Doctrine of Predestination, advanced several Things differing from the Opinions of *Calvin* on this Article, and was in a few Months after warmly opposed by *Gomarus* his Collegue, who held, That 'twas appointed, by an eternal Decree of God, who amongst Mankind shall be saved, and who shall be damned. This was indeed the Sentiment of most of the Clergy of the *United Provinces*, who therefore endeavoured to run down *Arminius* and his Doctrine with the greatest Zeal, in their private Conversations, publick Disputes, and in their very Sermons to their Congregations, charging him with Innovations, and of being a Follower of the ancient heretical Monk *Pelagius*; whereas the Government was more inclinable to *Arminius's* Scheme, as being less rigid in its Nature, and more intelligible by the People, and endeavoured all they could to prevent these Differences of the Clergy from breaking out into an open Quarrel, to the Disturbance of the publick Peace. But the Ministers of the Predestinarian Party would enter into no Treaty for Peace:

The

The *Remonstrants* were the Objects of their furious Zeal, whom they called *Mamalukes*, *Devils*, and *Plagues*; animating the Magistrates to extirpate and destroy them, and crying out from the Pulpits, *We must go through thick and thin, without fearing to stick in the Mire: We know what Elijah did to Baal's Priests.* And when the Time drew near for the Election of new Magistrates, they prayed to God for such Men, *as would be zealous even to Blood, though it were to cost the whole Trade of their Cities.* They also accused them of keeping up a Correspondence with the Jesuits and *Spaniards*, and of a Design to betray their Country to them.

These Proceedings gave great Disturbance to the Magistrates, especially as many of the Clergy took great Liberties with them, furiously inveighing against them in their Sermons, as Enemies to the Church, and Persecutors; as Libertines and Free-Thinkers, who hated the sincere Ministers of God, and endeavoured to turn them out of their Office. This Conduct, together with their obstinate Refusal of all Measures of Accommodation, and Peace with the Remonstrants, so incensed the Magistrates, that in several Cities they suspended some of the warmest and most seditious of them, and prohibited them from the publick Exercises of their ministerial Function; particularly *Gezelius* of *Rotterdam*, and afterwards *Roseus*, Minister at the *Hague*, for endeavouring to make a Schism in the Church, and exhorting the People to break off Communion with their Brethren. Being thus discarded, they assumed to themselves the Name of the persecuted Church, and met together in private Houses, absolutely refusing all Communion with the Remonstrant Ministers

2 and

and Party, in spite of all the Attempts made use of to reconcile and unite them.

What the Ministers of the Contra-remonstrant Party aimed at, was the holding a national Council; which at length, after a long Opposition, was agreed to in the Assembly of the *States General*, who appointed *Dort* for the Place of the Meeting. Prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, the Stadtholder, effectually prepared Matters for holding the said Assembly; and as he declared himself openly for the Contra-remonstrant Party, not for that he was of their Opinions in Religion, being rather inclined to those of *Arminius*, but because he thought them the best Friends to his Family, he took care that the Council should consist of such Persons as were well affected to them. In order to this his Excellency changed the Government of most of the Towns of *Holland*, deposed those Magistrates who were of the Remonstrant Persuasion, or that favoured them in the Business of the Toleration, and filled up their Places with Contra-Remonstrants, or such as promoted their Interests; making use of the Troops of the States, to obviate all Opposition.

The Consequence of this was the Imprisonment of several great Men of the Remonstrant Persuasion, such as the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt*, *Grotius*, and others; and the Suspension, or total Deprivation of a considerable Number of the Remonstrant Clergy, such as *Vitenbogart* of the *Hague*, *Grovinckhovius* of *Rotterdam*, *Grevius*, and others, by particular Synods met together for that Purpose, and to prepare Things, and appoint Persons for the ensuing national one at *Dort*. The Persons fixed on were generally the most violent of the Contra-remonstrant Party, and who had
publickly

publickly declared, that they would not enter into Communion with those who differ'd from them, nor agree to any Terms of Moderation and Peace. There were also several foreign Divines summoned to this Council, who were most of them in the *Calvinistick* Scheme, and professed Enemies to the *Arminians*.

The Lay Commissioners also, who were chosen by the States, were most of them very partial Contra-Remonstrants; and two or three of them, who seemed more impartial than the others, were hardly suffered to speak; and if they did, were presently suspected, and represented by Letters sent to the States, and Prince *Maurice* at the *Hague*, as Persons that favoured the Remonstrants; which was then consider'd as a Crime against the Government, insomuch, that by these Insinuations, they were in danger of being stripp'd of all their Employments.

The first Session and Opening of this venerable Assembly, was Nov. 13, 1618. *John Bogerman* The Council of Dort, A. C. 1618. was chosen President of it; the same worthy and moderate Divine, who had before translated into *Low Dutch* *Beza's* Treatise, to prove the Lawfulness of punishing Hereticks, with a Preface Recommendatory to the civil Magistrate; chosen, not by the whole Synod, but by the Low Country Divines only, the Foreigners not being allowed any Share in the Election.

At the fifth Session the Remonstrants petitioned the Synod, That a competent Number of their Friends might have leave to appear before them, and that the Citation might be sent to the whole Body, and not to any single Person, to the End that they might be at liberty to send such as they should judge best qualified to defend their Cause; and particularly insisted, that *Grovinckhovius* and *Goulart*

A&A. Syn.
Dord. Sess.
22.

Goulart might be of the Number. One would have thought that so equitable a Request should have been readily granted. But they were told, that it could not be allowed that the Remonstrants should pass for a distinct Body, or make any Deputation of Persons in their common Name to treat of their Affairs; and agreeably to this Declaration, the Summons that were given out were not sent to the Remonstrants as a Body or Part of the Synod, but to such particular Persons as the Synod thought fit to chuse out of them; which was little less than citing them as Criminals before a Body of Men, which chiefly consisted of their professed Adversaries. When they first appeared in the Synod, and *Episcopus* in the Name of the rest of them talked of entering into a regular Conference about the Points in difference, they were immediately given to understand, that no Conference was intended; but that their only Business was to deliver their Sentiments, and humbly to wait for the Judgment of the Council concerning them.

Episcopus, in the Name of his Brethren, declared, that they did not own the Synod for their lawful Judges, because most of that Body were their avowed Enemies, and Fomenters and Promoters of the unhappy Schism amongst them; upon which they were immediately reprimanded by the President, for impeaching and arraigning their Authority, and presuming to prescribe Laws to those whom the *States General* had appointed for their Judges. The Divines of *Geneva* added upon this Head, *That if People obstinately refused to submit to the lawful Determinations of the Church, there then remained two Methods to be used against them; the one, that the civil Magistrate might stretch out his Arm of Compulsion; the other, that the*
Church

Church might exert her Power, in order to separate and cut off, by a publick Sentence, those who violated the Laws of God. After many Debates on this Head, between the Synod and the Remonstrants, who adhered to their Resolution of not owning the Synod for their Judges, they were turned out of it, by *Bogerman* the President, with great Insolence and Fury; to the high Dissatisfaction of many of the foreign Divines.

After the Holy Synod had thus rid themselves of the Remonstrants, whose Learning and good Sense would have render'd them exceeding troublesome to this Assembly, they proceeded to fix the Faith; and as they had no Opposition to fear, and were almost all of one side, at least in the main Points, they agreed in their Articles and Canons, and in their Sentence against the Remonstrant Clergy, who had been cited to appear before them; which was to this Effect:

“ They beseeched and charged in the Name of
 “ Christ, all and singular the Ministers of the
 “ Churches throughout the united *Netherlands*, &c.
 “ that they forsake and abandon the well-known
 “ five Articles of the Remonstrants, as being
 “ false, and no other than Secret Magazines of
 “ Errors. — And whereas some, who are
 “ gone out from amongst us, calling themselves
 “ Remonstrants, have, out of private Views and
 “ Ends, unlawfully violated the Discipline and
 “ Government of the Church — have not only
 “ trumped up old Errors, but hammered out
 “ new ones too — have blackened and rendered
 “ odious the established Doctrine of the Church
 “ with impudent Slanders and Calumnies, with-
 “ out end or measure; have filled all Places with
 “ Scandal, Discord, Scruples, Troubles of Con-
 “ science — all which heinous Offences ought

“ to be restrained and punished in Clergymen
 “ with the severest Censures: Therefore this
 “ national Synod—being assured of its own Au-
 “ thority——doth hereby declare and deter-
 “ mine, that those Ministers, who have acted in
 “ the Churches as Heads of Factions, and Teachers
 “ of Errors, are guilty, and convicted of having
 “ violated our Holy Religion, having made a
 “ Rent in the Unity of the Church, and given
 “ very great Scandal: And as for those who
 “ were cited before this Synod, that they are
 “ besides guilty of intolerable Disobedience——
 “ to the Commands of the venerable Synod: For
 “ all which Reasons the Synod doth, in the first
 “ Place, discharge the aforesaid cited Persons from
 “ all ecclesiastical Administrations, and deprive
 “ them of their Offices; judging them likewise
 “ unworthy of any academical Employment.——
 “ And as for the rest of the Remonstrant Clergy,
 “ they are hereby recommended to the Provin-
 “ cial Synods, Classes and Consistories—who
 “ are to take the utmost Care—that the Patrons
 “ of Errors be prudently discovered; that all
 “ obstinate, clamorous, and factious Disturbers
 “ of the Church under their Jurisdiction, be
 “ forthwith deprived of their ecclesiastical and
 “ academical Offices.—— And they the said
 “ provincial Synods are therefore exhorted—to
 “ take a particular Care, that they admit none
 “ into the Ministry who shall refuse to subscribe,
 “ or promise to preach the Doctrine asserted in
 “ these Synodical Decrees; and that they suffer
 “ none to continue in the Ministry, by whose
 “ publick Dissent the Doctrine which hath been
 “ so unanimously approved by all the Members
 “ of this Synod, the Harmony of the Clergy, and
 “ the Peace of the Church, may be again disturbed—

“ And

“ And they most earnestly and humbly beseech
 “ their gracious God, that their High Mighti-
 “ nesses may suffer and ordain this wholesome
 “ Doctrine, which the Synod hath faithfully ex-
 “ pressed—to be maintained alone, and in its
 “ Purity within their Provinces—and restrain
 “ turbulent and unruly Spirits—and may like-
 “ wise put in Execution the Sentence pronounced
 “ against the above-mentioned Persons—and
 “ ratify and confirm the Decrees of the Synod
 “ by their Authority.”

The States readily obliged them in this Christian and Charitable Request; for as soon as the Synod was concluded the old Advocate *Barneveldt* was beheaded, who had been a zealous and hearty Friend to the Remonstrants and their Principles, and *Grotius* condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; and because the cited Ministers would not promise wholly, and always to abstain from the Exercise of their ministerial Functions, the States passed a Resolution for the banishing of them, on pain, if they did not submit to it, of being treated as Disturbers of the publick Peace. And though they only begged a Respite of the Sentence for a few Days, to put their Affairs in order, and to provide themselves with a little Money to support themselves and Families in their Banishment, even this was unmercifully denied them, and they were hurried away next Morning by four a-Clock, as though they had been Enemies to the Religion and Liberties of their Country.

Such was the Effect of this famous Presbyterian Synod, who behaved themselves as tyrannically towards their Brethren, as any prelatical Council whatsoever could do; and to the Honour of the Church of *England* it must be said, that they owned their Synodical Power, and concurred by

their Deputies, *Carleton* Bishop of *Landaff*, *Hall*, *Davenant*, and *Ward*, in condemning the Remonstrants, in excommunicating and depriving them, and turning them out of their Churches, and in establishing both the Discipline and Doctrines of *Geneva* in the *Netherlands*. For after the Council was ended, the Remonstrants were every where driven out of their Churches, and prohibited from holding any private Meetings, and many of them banished on this very Account. The Reader will find a very particular Relation of these Transactions, in the learned *Gerard Brandt's* History of the Reformation of the *Low Countries*, to which I must refer him.

S E C T. V.

Persecutions in Great Britain.

IF we look into our own Country, we shall find numerous Proofs of the same antichristian Spirit and Practice. Even our first Reformers, who had seen the Flames which the Papists had kindled against their Brethren, yet lighted Fires themselves to consume those who differed from them. *Cranmer's* Hands were stained with the Blood of several. He had a Share in the Prosecution and Condemnation of that pious and excellent Martyr *John Lambert*, and consented to the Death of *Ann Askew*, who were burnt for denying the corporal Presence; which, though *Cranmer* then believed, he saw afterwards reason to deny.

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II, p.
106, 107.

In the Year 1549. *Joan Bocher* was condemned for some enthusiastical Opinions about Christ, and delivered over to the secular Power. The Sentence being returned to the Council, King
Edward

Edward VI. was moved to sign a Warrant for her being burnt, but could not be prevailed with to do it. *Cranmer* endeavoured to persuade him by such Arguments, as rather silenced than satisfied the young King: So he set his Hand to the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, saying to the Archbishop, that if he did wrong, since it was in Submission to his Authority, he should answer for it to God. Though this struck *Cranmer* with Horror, yet he at last put the Sentence in Execution against her.

About two Years after one *George Van Pare*, a Dutchman, was accused, for saying, That God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God. And though he was a Person of a very holy Life, yet because he would not abjure, he was condemned for Heresy, and burnt in *Smithfield*. The Archbishop himself was afterwards burnt for Heresy; which, as *Fox* observed, many looked on as a just Retaliation from the Providence of God, for the cruel Severities he had used towards others.

The Controversy about the Popish Habits was one of the first that arose amongst the *English* Reformers. *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were zealous for the Use of them, whilst other very pious and learned Divines were for laying them aside, as the Badges of Idolatry and Antichrist. Amongst these was Dr. *Hooper*, nominated to the Bishoprick of *Gloucester*; but because he refused to be consecrated in the old Vestments, he was by order of Council first silenced, and then confined to his own House; and afterwards, by *Cranmer's* Means, committed to the *Fleet* Prison, where he continued several Months.

Queen
Elizabeth.

In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, A. C. 1559. an Act passed for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments; by which the Queen and Bishops were empower'd to ordain such Ceremonies in Worship, as they should think for the Honour of God, and the Edification of his Church. This Act was rigorously pressed, and great Severities used to such as could not comply with it. *Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made the Clergy subscribe to use the prescribed Rites and Habits; and cited before him many of the most famous Divines who scrupled them, and would allow none to be presented to Livings, or preferred in the Church, without an intire Conformity. He summoned the whole Body of the *London* Pastors and Curates to appear before him at *Lambeth*, and immediately suspended thirty-seven, who refused to subscribe to the Unity of Apparel; and signified to them, that within three Months they should be totally deprived, if they would not conform. So that many Churches were shut up; and though the People were ready to mutiny for want of Ministers, yet the Archbishop was deaf to all their Complaints, and in his great Goodness and Piety was resolved they should have no Sacraments or Sermons without the Surplice and the Cap. And in order to prevent all Opposition to Church Tyranny, the *Star Chamber* published a Decree for Sealing up the Press, and prohibiting any Person to print or publish any Book against the Queen's Injunctions, or against the Meaning of them. This Decree was signed by the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*.

This rigid and fanatical Zeal for Habits and Ceremonies, caused the *Puritans* to separate from the

the Established Church, and to hold private Assemblies for Worship. But the Queen and her Prelates soon made them feel their Vengeance. Their Meetings were disturbed, and those who attended them apprehended, and sent in large Numbers, Men and Women, to *Bridewell*, for Conviction. Others were cited into the *Spiritual Courts*, and not discharged till after long Attendance and great Charges. Subscriptions to Articles of Faith were violently pressed upon the Clergy, and about one Hundred of them were deprived, *Anno 1572.* for refusing to submit to them. Some were closely imprisoned, and died in Jail, through Poverty and Want.

And that serious Piety and Christian Knowledge might gain Ground, as well as Uniformity, the Bishops, by order of the Queen, put down the Prophesyings of the Clergy, *Anno 1574.* who were forbid to assemble, as they had done for some Years, to discourse with one another upon religious Subjects and Sermons; and as some serious Persons of the Laity were used to meet on Holidays, or after they had done work, to read the Scriptures, and to improve themselves in Christian Knowledge, the Parsons of the Parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them.

Eleven *Dutchmen*, who were Anabaptists, were condemned in the Consistory of *St. Paul* to the Fire, for Heresy; nine of whom were banished, and two of them burnt alive in *Smithfield*. In the Year 1583. *Copping* and *Thacker*, two Puritan Ministers, were hanged for Non-Conformity. It would be endless to go through all the Severities that were used in this Reign upon the Account of Religion. As the Queen was of a very high and arbitrary Temper, she pressed Uniformity

mity with great Violence, and found Bishops enough, *Parker, Aylmer, Whitgift*, and others, to justify and promote her Measures; who either enter'd their Sees with persecuting Principles, or embraced them soon after their Entrance, as best besitting the Ends of their Promotion. Silencings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Gibbets and Stakes, upon the Account of Religion, were some of the powerful Reasonings of those Times. The Bishops rioted in Power, and many of them abused it to the most cruel Oppressions. The Cries of innocent Prisoners, widowed Wives, and starving Children, made no Impression on their Hearts. Piety and Learning with them were void of Merit. Refusal of Subscriptions, and Non-Conformity, were Crimes never to be forgiven. A particular Account of these Things may be seen in Mr. *Neal's* History of the *Puritans*, who hath done some Justice to that Subject.

I shall only add, That the Court of High Commission established in this Reign, by the Instigation of *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by which the Commissioners were impowered to inquire into all Misdemeanors, by all such Ways and Means as they could devise, and thought necessary; to examine Persons upon Oath, and to punish those who refused the Oath by Fine or Imprisonment, according to their Discretion, was an high Stretch of the Prerogative, and had a very near Resemblance to the Courts of Inquisition; and the Cruelties that were practised in it, and the exorbitant Fines that were levied by it in the two following Reigns, made it the universal Abhorrence of the Nation, so that it was dissolved by Parliament, with a Clause that no such Court should be erected for the future.

King

King *James I.* was bred up in the Kirk of *James I.* Scotland; which professed the Faith and Discipline of those called Puritans in *England*; and though he blessed God, *For honouring him to be King over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the World*, yet, upon his Accession to the *English* Throne, he soon shewed his Aversion to the Constitution of that Kirk; and to their Brethren, the Puritans in *England*. These were solicitous for a farther Reformation in the Church, which the Bishops opposed, instilling this Maxim into the King, *No Bishop, no King*; which, as stale and false a Maxim as it is, hath been lately trumpt up, and publickly recommended, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*. In the Conference at *Hampton Court* his Majesty not only sided with the Bishops, but assured the Puritan Ministers, who were sent for to it, that *he had not called the Assembly together for any Innovations, for that he acknowledged the Government Ecclesiastical, as it then was, to have been approved by God himself*; giving them to understand, that *if they did not conform, he would either hurry them out of the Kingdom, or else do worse*. And these Reasonings of the King's were so strong, that *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with an impious and sordid Flattery said, *He was verily persuaded that the King spoke by the Spirit of God*.

Wilson.

Heylin's
Life of
Laud,
p. 58.

'Twas no wonder that the Bishops, thus supported by an inspired King, should get an easy Victory over the Puritans; which possibly they would not have done, had his Majesty been absent, and the Aids of his Inspiration withdrawn; since the Archbishop did not pretend that himself or his Brethren had any share of it. But having thus gotten the Victory, they strove by many Methods of Violence to maintain it; and used such Severities towards the Non-Conformists, that they

they were forced to seek Refuge in foreign Countries. The Truth is, this Conference at *Hampton Court* was never intended to satisfy the Puritans, but as a Blind to introduce Episcopacy into *Scotland*, and to subvert the Constitution and Establishment of that Church.

His Majesty, in one of his Speeches to his Parliament, tells them, that *he was never violent and unreasonable in his Profession of Religion*. I believe all Mankind will now acquit him of any violent and unreasonable Attachment to the Protestant Religion and Liberties. He added in the same Speech, it may be questioned, whether by Inspiration of the Spirit, *I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some Infirmities and Corruptions*. And he did behave as a very dutiful Son of that Mother Church, by the many Favours he shewed to the Papists during his Reign, by his Proclamations for Uniformity in Religion, and encouraging and supporting his Bishops in their Persecutions of such as differ'd from, or could not submit to them.

Bancroft, promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, was, as the Historian calls him, *A sturdy Piece*; a cruel and inflexible Persecutor, treating the Non-Conformists with the greatest Rigor and Severity; and who, as *Heylin* tells us, *was resolved to break them, if they would not bow*. He put the Canons and Constitutions agreed on *A.C. 1603*. furiously into Execution, and such as stood out against them, he either deprived or silenced. And indeed, as the aforementioned Author says, *Who could stand against a Man of such a Spirit, armed with Authority, having the Law on his Side, and the King to his Friend?* During his being Archbishop he deprived, silenced, suspended, and admonished, above three Hundred Ministers. The Violences he

Wilson.

Life of
Laud,
p. 58.

Wilson.

he and his Brethren used in the High-Commission Courts, render'd it a publick Grievance. *Every* Wilton. *Man must conform to the Episcopal Way, and quit his Hold in Opinion or Safety. That Court was the Touch-stone, to try whether Men were Metal for their Stamp; and if they were not soft enough to take such Impressions as were put upon them, they were made malleable there, or else they could not pass current. This was the beginning of that Mischief, which, when it came to a full Ripeness, made such a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the Bishop's Lawn Sleeves.*

But nothing displeased the sober Parr of the Nation more, than the Publication of the Book of Sports, which the Bishops procured from the King, and which came out with a Command, enjoining all Ministers to read it to their Parishioners, and to approve of it; and those who did not, were brought into the High-Commission, imprisoned, and suspended; this Book being only a Trap to catch some conscientious Men, that they could not otherwise, with all their Cunning, ensnare. *These, and such like Machinations of the* Ibid. *Bishops, says my Author, to maintain their temporal Greatness, Ease and Plenty, made the Stones in the Walls of their Palaces, and the Beam in the Timber, afterwards cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing; and caused their Light to go out Offensive to the Nostrils of the Rubbish of the People.*

Indeed many of the King's Bishops, such as Bancroft, Neal, and Laud, who was a reputed Papist in Oxford, and a Man of a dangerous, turbulent Spirit, were fit for any Work; and as they don't appear to have had any Principles of real Piety themselves, they were the fittest Tools that could be made use of to persecute those who had. Neal, when he was Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry,

Coventry, prosecuted one *Edward Wightman*, for broaching erroneous Doctrine, and having canonically condemned him, got the King's Warrant for his Execution; and he was accordingly burnt in *Litchfield*. One *Legat* also was prosecuted and condemned for Heresy, by King Bishop of *London*, and expired in the Flames of *Smithfield*. He denied the Divinity of our Saviour, according to the *Athanasian* Mode of explaining it; but, as *Fuller* tells us, he was excellently skilled in Scripture, and his Conversation very unblameable. But as these Sacrifices were unacceptable to the People, the King preferred, that Hereticks hereafter, tho' condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in Prison, rather than to amuse others with the Solemnity of a publick Execution.

Charles I. In the Reign of the Royal Martyr, the Church grew to the Height of her Glory and Power; tho' such is the Fate of all human Things, that she soon sickned, languished, and died. *Land* carried all before him, and ruled both Church and Kingdom with a Rod of Iron. His Beginning and Rise is thus described by Archbishop *Abbot*, his pious and worthy Predecessor.

Rapin,
Vol. II.
p. 278.
2d Edit.

“ His Life in *Oxford* was to pick Quarrels in
“ the Lectures of the publick Readers, and to
“ advertise them to the then Bishop of *Durham*,
“ that he might fill the Ears of King *James* with
“ Discontents against the honest Men that took
“ Pains in their Places, and settled the Truth,
“ which he called *Puritanism*, in their Auditors.
“ He made it his Work to see what Books
“ were in the Press, and to look over Epistles
“ Dedicatory, and Prefaces to the Reader, to see
“ what Faults might be found.

“ It

“ It was an Observation what a sweet Man
 “ this was like to be, that the first observable Act
 “ he did, was the marrying of the Earl of *Devonshire* to the Lady *Rich*, when it was notorious to the World that she had another Husband, and the same a Nobleman, who had divers Children then living by her. King *James* did for many Years take this so ill, that he would never hear of any great Preferment of him; insomuch that the Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Dr. Williams*, who taketh upon him to be the first Promoter of him, hath many Times said, that when he made mention of *Laud* to the King, his Majesty was so averse from it, that he was constrained oftentimes to say, that he would never desire to serve that Master, who could not remit one Fault to his Servant. Well, in the End he did conquer it, to get him to the Bishoprick of *St. David's*; which he had not long enjoy'd, but he began to undermine his Benefactor, as at this Day it appeareth: The Countess of *Buckingham* told *Lincoln*, that *St. David's* was the Man that undermined him with her Son. And verily, such is his aspiring Nature, that he will underwork any Man in the World, so that he may gain by it.”

He had a peculiar Enmity to Archbishop *Wilson*. *Abbot*, a Man of an holy and unblameable Life, because he had informed King *James* that *Laud* was a reputed Papist in *Oxford*, and of a dangerous, turbulent Spirit; and as *James I.* was wrought up into an incurable Animosity against the Puritans, “ this was thought to be fomented by the Papists, whose Agent Bishop *Laud* was suspected to be: And tho' the King was pleased with Asseverations to protest his incentive Spirit, should be kept under, that the Flame should not

“ not break out by any Preferment from him ;
 “ yet getting into *Buckingham's* Favour, he grew
 “ into such Credit, that he was thought to be the
 “ Bellows which blew those Flames that were
 “ every where rising in the Nation.

“ For the Papists used all the Artifices they
 “ could to make a Breach between the King and
 “ his People ; and to accomplish this, amongst
 “ other Methods, they sowed the Seeds of Di-
 “ vision betwixt Puritan and Protestant ; for all
 “ those were Puritans, with this high grown *Ar-*
 “ *menian* Popish Party, that held in Judgment
 “ the Doctrine of the reformed Churches, or in
 “ Practice live according to the Doctrine pub-
 “ licly taught in the Church of *England*. And
 “ they attributed the Name of Protestant,

“ 1. To such Papists, as either out of Policy,
 “ or by Popish Indulgence, held outward Com-
 “ munion with the Church of *England*.

“ 2. To such Protestants, as were either tainted
 “ with, or inclinable to their Opinions.

“ 3. To indifferent Men, who embrace always
 “ that Religion that shall be commanded by Au-
 “ thority. Or,

“ 4. To such Neutrals as care for no Religion,
 “ but such as stands with their own liking ; so
 “ that they allow the Church of *England* the Re-
 “ fuse both of their Religion and ours.”

Thus far *Wilson* ; and tho' *Laud* might be, as
 the same Historian relates, of a motley Form of
Religion by himself, yet the whole Course of his
 tyrannical Administration gave but too just reason
 for Suspicion, that his strongest Inclinations were
 towards *Rome* and Popery. The first Parliament
 of *Charles I.* re-assembled at *Oxford* in 1625. com-
 plained that Popery and *Arminianism* were coun-
 tenanced by a strong Party in the Kingdom ;

and

and Neal Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* then of *St. David's*, were chiefly looked upon as the Heads and Protectors of the *Arminians*, nay, as Favourers of Popery.

The Reasons of this Suspicion were many. He was drove on by a rigid, furious and fanatical Zeal for all the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, even for such as seemed the least necessary. And not content with these, he promoted and procured the Introduction of many others, which never had been enjoined by lawful Authority,

Jan. 16, 1630. he consecrated, as Bishop of *London*, *St. Catharine Creed Church*, with all the Popperies of a Popish Superstition. " At the Bishop's Approach to the West Door, some that were prepared for it, cried with a loud Voice, *Open, open ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in.* Immediately enters *Laud*. Then falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms spread abroad, he cried out, *This Place is holy: The Ground is holy: In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.* Then he took up some of the Dust, and threw it up into the Air several Times, in his going up towards the Chancel. When they approached near to the Rail, and Communion Table, the Bishop bowed towards it several Times; and returning, they went round the Church in Procession, singing the 100th Psalm; after that the 19th Psalm; and then said a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jesus Christ, &c. concluding, We consecrate this Church, and separate it unto thee as holy Ground, not to be profaned any more to common Use.*

Rapin,
Vol. II.
p. 286.

" After

" After this the Bishop being near the Com-
 " munion Table, and taking a written Book in
 " his Hand, pronounced Curses upon those that
 " should afterwards profane that holy Place, by
 " Musters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-
 " Courts, or carrying Burdens thro' it; and at
 " the End of every Curse he bowed towards the
 " East, and said, *Let all the People say, Amen.*
 " After this he pronounced a Number of Bless-
 " ings upon all those who had any hand in fra-
 " ming and building of that sacred and beau-
 " tiful Church, and those that had given, or
 " should hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Or-
 " naments, or Utenfils; and at the End of every
 " Blessing he bowed towards the East, saying,
 " *Let all the People say, Amen.*

" After this followed the Sermon; which be-
 " ing ended, the Bishop consecrated and admi-
 " nistred the Sacrament in manner following.

" As he approached the Communion Table,
 " he made many lowly Bowings, and coming up
 " to the side of the Table, where the Bread and
 " Wine were covered, he bowed seven Times;
 " and then, after the reading of many Prayers,
 " he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up
 " the Corner of the Napkin wherein the Bread
 " was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he
 " laid it down again, flew back a Step or two,
 " bowed three several Times towards it; then
 " he drew near again, and opened the Napkin,
 " and bowed as before. Then he laid his Hand
 " on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a
 " Cover upon it; which he let go, then went
 " back, and bowed thrice towards it. Then he
 " came near again; and lifting up the Cover of
 " the Cup, looked into it, and seeing the Wine,

" he

“ he let fall the Cover again, retired back, and
 “ bowed as before. Then he received the Sa-
 “ crament, and gave it to some principal Men;
 “ after which many Prayers being said, the So-
 “ lemnity of the Consecration ended.”

In this Manner have I seen high Masses cele-
 brated Pontifically. And from whence did the
 pious *Land* learn all these Kneelings, Bowings,
 Throwings of Dust, Cursings, Blessings, and Ado-
 rations of the sacramental Elements; from the
 sacred Scriptures, or the Writings of the Pri-
 mitive Fathers? No: 'Twas an exact Copy of
 the *Roman Pontifical*, which was found in his Study;
 and tho' he alleged in his Defence that 'twas a
 Form communicated by Bishop *Andrews* to him,
 'twas ridiculous, since *Andrews* himself had it from
 the same Pontifical.

The next Year, 1632. *Henry Sherfield*, Esq; Re-
 corder of *Sarum*, was fined in the *Star Chamber*
 500 l. on the following Occasion. There was in
 the City of *Salisbury* a Church called *St. Edmund's*,
 whose Windows were painted with the History of
 the Creation; where God the Father was repre-
 sented in the Form of an old Man, creating the
 World during the first six Days, but painted sit-
 ting on the seventh, to denote the Day of Rest.
 In expressing the Creation of the Sun and Moon,
 the Painter had put in God's Hand a Pair of
 Compasses, as if he was going to measure them.
 The Recorder was offended with this Profane-
 ness; and, by an Order of Vestry, took down
 those painted Glasses, and broke some of the
 Panes with his Stick, and ordered others to be
 put up in their room. Upon this an Information
 was exhibited against him in the *Star Chamber*, by
 the Attorney General; where *Sherfield* was for
 this Reason charged with being ill-affected to the

Rushw.
 Tom. II.
 p. 153,
 156.

Discipline of the Church of *England*, and the Government thereof by Bishops, because he had broken excellent Pictures of the Creation, and fined for his Crime in the Sum above mentioned, committed to the Fleet, removed from his Recorder-ship, and bound to his good Behaviour. Nor was *Laud* ashamed, in Justification of such Pictures, to urge, as the Papists continually do, that Place in *Dan. vii. 9.* in which God is described as *the ancient of Days*; shewing himself a worse Divine, or a more popishly affected one, than the Earl of *Dorset*, who then sat with him in the Court, and said, that by that Text was meant *the Eternity of God, and not God to be pictured as an old Man, creating the World with a Pair of Compasses.* But I wish, added the Earl, *there were no Image of the Father, neither in the Church, nor out of the Church; for, at the best, they are but Vanities, and Teachers of Lies.*

Com. Hist.
Vol. III.
p. 73.

In 1633. *Laud* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and having observed that the placing the Communion Table in the Body of the Church, or at the Entrance of the Chancel, was not only a Prostitution of the Table to ordinary and sordid Uses, but the Chancel look'd like an useless Building, fit only for Schooling and Parish-meeting, tho' originally designed for the most solemn Office of Religion; to redeem these Places, as he term'd it, from Profaneness, and restore them to the primitive Use of the holy Sacrament, the Archbishop used his utmost Diligence to remove the Communion Table from the Body of the Church, and fix it at the upper End of the Chancel, and secure it from the Approach of Dogs, and all servile Uses, by railing it in, and obliging the People to come up to those Rails to receive the Sacrament with more Decency and Order. This
Affair,

Affair, says Lord *Clarendon*, he prosecuted more passionately than was fit for the Season, and created Disputes in numberless Places; so that the High Commission had frequent Occasions to punish the Ministers, who were suspected of too little Zeal for the Church of *England*. And as since the Reformation the Altars were changed into Communion Tables, and placed in the middle of the Chancel, to avoid Superstition; many imagined, and that with too much Reason, the Tables were again turned into Altars with intent to revive a superstitious Worship.

In the Year 1634. he set up and repaired Popish Images in the Glass Windows of his Chapel at *Lambeth*; particularly one of God the Father, in form of a little old Man. This *Laud* himself owned, that he repaired the Windows at no small Cost, by help of the Fragments that remained, and vindicated the Thing. He introduced also Copes, Candlesticks, Tapers, and such like Trumperies. So that *L'Estrange*, whom no Man will charge with Partiality against the Archbishop, says of him: *The Archbishop of Canterbury stands aspersed, in common Fame, as a great Friend at least, and Patron of the Romish Catholics, if he were not of the same Belief. To which I answer by Concession: True it is, he had too much and long favoured the Romish Faction—tho' not the Romish Faith. He tamper'd indeed to introduce some Ceremonies, bordering upon Superstition, disused by us, and abused by them. From whence the Romanists collected such a good Disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began not only to hope, but in good Earnest to cry him up for their Proselyte.*

Under the Year 1635. the Author of the Notes to the Compleat History tells us, that one of the great Offences taken by wise and good Men

Rapin;
Vol. II.
p. 291.

Rushw.
ad An.
1634.
p. 270;
280.

Id. V. III.
p. 1326.

Vol. III.
p. 82.

against the Archbishop, was the new Attempt of reconciling the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*. The Design was to accommodate the Articles of the Church of *England* to the Sense of the Church of *Rome*, for the easier Reconciliation of the two Churches. *Davenport*, an *English Franciscan* Frier, published a Book to this Purpose, under the Name of *Franciscus de Sancta Clara*, which was dedicated to the King, and said to have been directed to Archbishop *Laud*. And it was an Article objected against him, that for the Advancement of Popery and Superstition in this Realm, he had wittingly and willingly harboured and relieved divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, and particularly *Sancta Clara*, who hath written a popish and seditious Book, wherein the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* are much traduced and scandalized, the said Archbishop having divers Conferences with him, while he was writing the said Book. The Archbishop did not seem to deny his Acquaintance with the Man, nor with the Design of the Book; but was rather afraid the Book would not answer the Design.

The same Author farther adds, that the best Observations on this Matter were made by Mr. *Rous*, in a Speech against Dr. *Cosin*, March 16, 1640. “ A second Way by which this Army of
 “ Priests advanceth this popish Design, is the
 “ way of Treaty. This hath been acted both
 “ by Writings and Conference. *Sancta Clara*
 “ himself says, *Doctissimi eorum, quibuscunque egi*.
 “ So it seems they have had Conference together.
 “ And *Sancta Clara*, on his Part, labours to bring
 “ the Articles of our Church to Popery, and some
 “ of our side labour to meet him in the Way.
 “ We have a Testimony that the great Arch-
 “ priest himself hath said: *It were no hard Matter*

“ to

“ to make a Reconciliation, if a wise Man had the
“ handling of it.”

Such was the good Opinion which the Papists had of *Laud*, and of his Inclinations to Popery, that 'tis certain they offered him a Cardinal's Cap. *Eachard* and others say he refused it. But the *Hist. of* Lord *Wiquefort*, as cited by Mr. *Oldmixon*, in-*Stuarts*, forms us, in his Treatise of *the Ambassador and his* *P. 118.* *Function*, that *Laud* treated with Count *Rosetti*, the Popish Agent in *England*, for a Pension of 48000 Livres a Year; which if the Pope would have settled upon him, he would not only have accepted of the Cardinal's Cap, but have gone to *Rome*, and have dwelt with the Pope and his Cardinals as long as he lived.

The bitter and relentless Fury with which he treated the Puritans, and others who were Friends to the Church of *England*, and some of the best Protestants in the Kingdom, is a Demonstration that he was more Papist than Protestant. Of the Puritans he used to say, as *Heylin* tells us, that *they were as bad as the Papists*; and indeed he used them in a much worse Manner.

In the *Considerations* he presented to the King, *An. 1629. for the better securing the Church Government*, he prayed his Majesty, amongst other Things, that *Emanuel* and *Sydney* Colleges in *Cambridge*, which are the Nurseries of Puritanism, may from time to time be provided of grave and orthodox Men for their Governors. In the several Accounts of his Province, which he sent to the King, we read almost of nothing but Conformity and Non-Conformity to the Church, refractory People to the Church, peevish and disorderly Men, for preaching up the Observation of the Sabbath, breach of Church Canons, wild, turbulent Preachers, for preaching against Bowing at the Name of Jesus,

Com. Hist.
Vol. III.
p. 90.

and in Disgrace of the Common Prayer Book; and in consequence of these Things, Presentments, Citations in the High Commission Court, Censures, Suspensions from Preaching, and other like pious Methods, to reduce and reform them. And so grievous and numerous were the Violences he exercised on these and the like Occasions, in the *Star Chamber*, High Commission, and spiritual Courts, that many excellent and learned Men were forced to leave the Kingdom, and retire to the *West Indies*. And yet even this was unmercifully forbidden them. For in the Year 1637. a Proclamation was issued to stop eight Ships going to *New England*; and another Warrant from the Council, of which *Laud* was one, to the Lord Admiral, to stop all Ministers unconformable to the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, who frequently transport themselves to the Summer Islands, and other Plantations; and that no Clergyman should be suffered to go over, without Approbation of the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London*. These Prohibitions, as the compleat Historian observes, increased the Murmurs and Complaints of the People thus restrained, and raised the Cries of a double Persecution, to be vexed at home, and not suffered to seek Peace or Refuge abroad.

But how were the Papists treated all this while? Why, with brotherly Mildness and Moderation. For whilst these Severities were exercising against Protestants, there were many Pardons and Indulgences granted to Popish Offenders. The Papists were in reality his Favourites and Friends.

On July 7, 1626. *Montague's* Books, intituled, *An Appeal to Cæsar*, and a *Treatise of the Invocation of Saints*, were called in question by the House of Commons, and reported to contain false, erroneous,

Rapin,
Vol. II.
p. 244.

roneous, papistical Opinions. For Instance: *That the Church of Rome hath ever remained firm, upon the same Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrines instituted by God. That the controverted Points (between the Church of England and that of Rome) are of a lesser and inferior Nature, of which a Man may be ignorant, without any danger of his Soul at all. That Images may be used for the Instruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion. That there are Tutelar Saints, as well as Angels.* The House of Commons voted his Books to be contrary to the established Articles; to tend to the King's Dishonour, and to the Disturbance of Church and State. And yet this zealous, protestant Bishop Laud was, as the Compleat Historian assures us, *a zealous Friend to the Person and Opinions of Mr. Montague*; and made this Entry in his Diary on this Affair: *Jan. 29. Sunday. I understand what D. B. had collected concerning the Cause, Book and Opinions of Richard Montague, and what R. C. had determined with himself therein. Methinks I see a Cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England; viz. because the popish Opinions of this turbulent Priest were censured as contrary to the established Articles of the Church of England. He was fit to be made one of Laud's Brethren; and accordingly was preferred to the Bishoprick of Chichester, An. 1629.*

The Author of the Remarks on the Compleat Historian farther tells us, under the Year 1632. that great Prejudice was taken against some of Bishop Laud's Churchmen, by one of them protesting to die in the Communion of the Church of Rome; Dr. Theodore Price, Prebendary of Winchester, and Subdean of Westminster. Mr. Prynne affirmed, that this Man, very intimate with the Archbishop, and recommended by him specially

to the King to be a *Welch* Bishop, in opposition to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Chaplain *Griffith Williams*, soon after died a reconciled Papist, and received extreme Unction from a Priest. The Remarker adds, It is strange Partiality in the *Oxford Historian* to question this Matter, when *Laud* himself, in his MS. Notes upon that Relation given by Mr. *Prynne*, doth by no means deny the Fact, but excuses the using his Interest for him; and says, *he was more inward with another Bishop, and who labour'd his Preferment more than I.*

Com. Hist.
p. 67.

In the same Year, 1632. Mr. *Francis Windbank* was made Secretary of State by the Interest of Bishop *Laud*, who hath enter'd it in his Diary. 1632. June 15. Mr. *Francis Windbank*, my old Friend, was sworn Secretary of State; which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Master King Charles. He proved so much a Creature of the Queen's, and such an Advocate and Patron of all suffering Papists and Jesuits, that he had the Character of a Papist, and brought a very great Odium upon *Laud* who preferred him. That which created him the more Envy, was the turning out the old Secretary, Sir *John Coke*; who was displaced by *Laud* for his honest Firmness against Popery, as the Author of the Remarks on the Compleat Historian assures us, and for his Hatred and Opposition to the Jesuits. This Job was labouring for three Years space, and at last obtain'd by *Laud's* Influence on the King^f.

These

Remarks,
p. 72.

^f The Charge of Popery against *Laud*, Dr. *Berryman*, with his usual magisterial Air, calls *senseless*. But I leave it to the whole World to judge, whether he was a Protestant. If practising and enforcing some of the worst Superstitions of Popery, if erecting Altars instead of Sacramental Tables, if Adoration

These Instances, and many others which might be mentioned, are sufficient to discover what sort of a Protestant *Laud* was, and how he stood affected to the Church of *Rome*. I shall now consider his Character for Piety, which was exactly of a piece with his Protestantism.

He

Adoration of the Sacramental Elements, if being a zealous Friend to Images, if the making at great Expence Pictures of the eternal and invisible Father, and vindicating openly that Impiety, and cruelly prosecuting those who removed them; if endeavouring to reconcile the Church of *England* to that of *Rome*, and negotiating for a Cardinal's Cap; if a continued Series of Violence, and Persecution against some of the most learned and zealous Protestants, and in the mean time harbouring, relieving, and protecting Jesuits and Papists; if labouring to prefer some who were reputed Papists to ecclesiastical and civil Employments, and to turn out others for their Zeal to the Protestant Religion; if these, and the like Instances, are Marks and Characters of one popishly affected, look Reader on the Picture of *Laud*, and thou wilt find him to be the Man; and I leave thee to form what Judgment thou wilt of the Principles, Protestantism, Sense, Veracity, and Honour of the Person, who dares to call this Charge a *senseless Charge*.

As to *Limborck's* Testimony of him, 'tis no wonder that learned Gentleman had an high Opinion of *Laud*, because he was the Head of the *Arminian* Faction here in *England*. In 1626. he obtained a Proclamation from the King, to prevent preaching or disputing upon the controverted Points of *Arminianism*. The Design of *Laud*, and *Neal* Bishop of *Winchester*, in procuring this Injunction, was to oppress the *Calvinist* Ministers, whilst the contrary Party were connived at and supported. And accordingly the next Parliament complained to the King, that the orthodox Ministers were silenced for disobeying the Proclamation, and the *Arminians* tolerated and countenanced. *Laud* never failed the Opportunities of making Com. Hist. an Example of such as reflected upon *Arminianism*. Upon this p. 71. Account he expelled Mr. Ford of *Magdalen Hall*, Mr. Thorn of *Belial College*, and Mr. Hodges of *Exeter College*, from the University of *Oxford*, and ordered a sharp Admonition from the Council-Board to be given to Dr. *Prideaux* Rector of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Wilkinson* Principal of *Magdalen Hall*, for seeming to countenance the Men and their Cause. An. 1631. Mr. *Barnard*,
Lecturer

He was a Creature of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was one of the leudeſt Men in the Kingdom. This Man, as Archbishop *Abbot* ſaid of him, was the only inward Counſellor with *Buckingham*; *ſitting with him ſometimes privately whole Hours, and feeding his Humour with Malice and Spite.* His marrying the Earl of *Devonſhire* to the Lady *Rich*, tho' ſhe had another Husband, is a glorious Argument of his Regard to the Laws of God, and particularly of his Reverence for the ſeventh Commandment.

Lecturer of *St. Sepulchres London*, met with a ſeverer Fate. Having complained of *Pelagian* Errors, he was enjoined a Form of Recantation; which he reſuſing to ſubmit to, he was ſuſpended from his Office, fined a thouſand Pounds, condemned in Coſts, and thrown into Jail. Numerous Inſtances of ſuch Proſecutions might be produced. Theſe Matters belonged to the High Commiſſion, almoſt wholly compoſed of *Laud's* Creatures, who was the Head and Protector of the *Arminians*. This may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to prejudice *Limborch*, who was Profeſſor amongſt the Remonſtrants, in *Laud's* Favour. But nothing can be weaker than to oppoſe his ſingle Judgment againſt the Evidence of the moſt incontestible Facts, which demonstrate that he was much more a *Papiſt* than a *Proteſtant*.

To do him Juſtice however, I believe he had too much Haughtineſs and Pride to ſubmit to the Pope of *Rome*. He acted the Part of a Pope himſelf; and allowed himſelf, as *Heylin* tells us, to be addreſſed under the Titles of *Holineſs*, and *moſt holy Father*; and wanted to be the *Papa alterius orbis*. He might differ alſo in ſome few other Articles from the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*: So that his Religion ſeems to have been, as *Wilson* calls it, *of the motley Kind*; and he was ſo much a *Proteſtant*, and ſo much a *Papiſt*, that both had him, and yet neither wholly. He ſeems to have been gone three fourths of the Way to *Rome*. So that Biſhop *Hall*, in a Letter to *Laud* himſelf, juſtly tells him: *I would I knew where to find you: ——— To day you are in the Tents of the Romaniſts; to morrow in ours; and the next Day between both. Our Adverſaries think you, ours; we, theirs; your Conſcience finds you with both, and neither. ——— How long will you halt in this Indifferency? Reſolve one way ——— and loathing this Bat-like Nature, be either a Bird, or a Beaſt.*

He

He gave also notable Proofs of his Zeal to maintain the Honour of the fourth. The Liberties taken at *Wakes*, or annual Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, on *Sundays*, were grown to a very high Excess, and occasioned great and numerous Debaucheries. The Lord Chief Justice *Rushw.*
Richardson, in his Circuit, made an Order to Vol. I.
suppress them. *Laud* complained of this to the P. 196.
King, as an Intrusion upon the ecclesiastical Power; upon which *Richardson* was severely reprimanded, and forced to revoke the Order. The Justices of the Peace upon this drew up a Petition to the King, shewing the great Inconveniences which would befall the Country, if those Revels, Church-Ales and Clerk-Ales, upon the Lord's-day, were permitted. But before the Petition could be delivered, *Laud* published by the King's Order the Declaration concerning Recreations on the Lord's-day, *out of a pious Care for the Service of God*, as that Declaration expresses it towards the Conclusion of it. However, this *pious Care* of *Laud* and the King was resented by the soberest Persons in the Nation, as irreligious and profane, as those Revels had been the Occasions of *infinite Number of Inconveniences*; and the Declaration for publishing the Lawfulness of them throughout all Parish-Churches, *proved a Snare* *Rushw.*
to many Ministers, very conformable to the Church of Ibid.
England, because they refused to read the same publickly in the Church, as was required: For upon this many were suspended, and others silenced from Preaching. An Instance of great Piety unquestionably this; first to establish the Profanation of the Lord's-day by a publick Order, and then to persecute and punish those Ministers who could not, in Conscience, promote the Ends of *so godly a Zeal*, by reading the King's Order for *Wakes* and Revels

on the Lord's-day out of that very Place, where perhaps they had been just before publishing the Command of the most high God not to profane, but to keep it holy.

His Treatment of Mr. *Prynne* may also be added, as another Instance of this Prelate's exemplary Love of Virtue, and pious Zeal for the Service of God. That Gentleman published in the Year 1632. his *Histrion-Mastix*, or Book against Stage-Plays; in which, with very large Collections, he exposed the Liberties of the Stage, and condemned the Lawfulness of Acting. Now, because the Court became greatly addicted to these Entertainments, and the Queen was so fond of them, as meanly to submit to act a Part her self in a Pastoral; therefore this Treatise against Plays was suspected to be levelled against the Court and the Queen; and it was supposed an *Innuendo*, that in the Table of the Book this Reference was put, *Women Actors notorious Whores*. Now mark the Christian Spirit, the burning Zeal of the pious *Laud*. *Prynne* was prosecuted in the *Star Chamber* by *Laud's* Procurement, who shewed the Book to the King, and pointed at the offensive Parts of it; and employ'd *Heylin* to pick out all the virulent Passages, and *N. B. to give the severest Turn to them*; and carried these Notes to the Attorney General for matter of Information, and urged him earnestly to proceed against the Author.

Prynne was accordingly prosecuted; and being sufficiently convicted by Suspicions, Suppositions, and Innuendos, he was sentenced, *Laud* sitting as one of his Judges, to have his Book burnt in the most publick Manner; to be himself put from the Bar, and made for ever incapable of his Profession; to be excluded from the Society of *Lincoln's Inn*, and degraded in *Oxford*; to stand in
the

the Pillory in *Westminster* and *Cheapside*, and lose both his Ears, one in each Place; with a Paper on his Head, declaring his Offence to be an *infamous Libel* against both their Majesties, the State and the Government; to pay a Fine of five thousand Pounds, and to suffer perpetual Imprisonment. Good God! what Cruelty and Barbarity is here? What insolent Sporting with Mens Fortunes, Liberties, and Bodies? What was the Occasion of this bloody Severity? A Gentleman's writing against the Abuses of Plays. Who ordered the Prosecution against him for writing against Plays? Archbishop *Laud*. Who sat at the Head of his Judges, who pronounced this infamous Sentence? Archbishop *Laud*. Excellent Archbishop! how christian, how commendable his Zeal! How gloriously must Religion flourish under his archiepiscopal Inspection, and by his becoming *the most reverend* Abettor, Encourager, and great Patron of Plays on Week-days, and Revels on *Sundays*?

'Tis true, he was for building Colleges, re-Com. Hist. pairing Churches, settling Statutes for Cathedrals, P- annexing Commendams to small Bishopricks, settling of Tithes, building Hospitals, aggrandizing the Power, and encreasing the Riches of the Clergy; and these Things may be esteemed Arguments of his Piety, and of *the Greatness of his Soul above the ordinary Extent of Mankind*: This I do not take on me to deny; but it puts me in mind of the *Carthusian* Monk, mentioned by *Philip de Comines*, in his *Commentaries of the Neapolitan War*: "*Comines* was looking on the Sepulchre of "*John Galeacius*, first Duke of *Milan* of that "*Name*, in the *Carthusian* Church of *Pavia*, who "*had governed with great Cruelty and Pride*, but "*had been very liberal in his Donations to the* "*Church*

“ Church and Clergy. As he was viewing it,
 “ one of the Monks of the Order commended
 “ the Virtue, and extolled the Piety of *Galeacius*.
 “ Why, says *Comines*, do you thus praise him as
 “ a Saint? You see drawn on his Sepulchre the
 “ Ensigns of many People, whom he conquered
 “ without Right. *Oh*, says the Monk, *'tis our*
 “ *Custom to call them Saints, that have been our Be-*
 “ *nefactors.*”

But let us pass on from his Piety to his Christian Tenderness and Compassion, of which there are many very remarkable Instances on Record.

Com. Hist.
 p. 58.
 Notes.

The Case of Mr. *Prynne* I have already mentioned. Another Instance is that of the Reverend Mr. *Peter Smart*, who, *July 27, 1628.* preach'd on the Lord's-day against the Innovations brought by Dr. *Cosins* into the Cathedral Church of *Durham*; such as Fonts, Candles, Pictures, Images, Copes, Singings, Vestments, Gestures, Prayers, Doctrines, and the like. *Cosins* demeaned himself during the Sermon very turbulently, and immediately afterwards summoned him before the High Commission; by whom he was censured by two Acts of Sequestration, and one of Suspension. After this they unlawfully transmitted him to *London*, to answer there in the High Commission, for the same Cause, before the Inquisitors General for the Kingdom; who sent him back again, with proper Instructions to the High Commission at *York*; where they fined him 500 Pounds, committed him to Jail, detained him under great Bonds, excommunicated him, sequestred all his ecclesiastical Livings, degraded him, *ab omni gradu et dignitate clericali*; by virtue of which Degradation, his Prebendship and Parsonage were both taken from him, and himself kept in Jail. By these Oppressions his Life was several Times endangered,

dangered, and himself and Children lost and spent above fourteen thousand Pounds of real Estate, whereby they were utterly undone. The Hand of *Laud* was in all this Evil, as appears by the Book published by Mr. *Smart* himself, with the Title of *Canterbury's Cruelty*.

The Truth is, many of the most worthy and learned Protestant Gentlemen and Divines were treated by him with the utmost Indignity and Barbarity; some of them dying in Jail, and others being made to undergo the most cruel bodily Punishments, for daring to oppose his arbitrary and superstitious Proceedings. No Man of Compassion can read his Treatment of Dr. *Leighton* without being shocked and moved in the same tender Manner as the House of Commons were, who several Times interrupted, by their Tears, the reading of the Doctor's Petition; which I shall here present my Reader with entire, and leave him to form what Character he pleases of the Man, that could contrive and carry on such a Scene of barbarous and execrable Cruelty.

To the Honourable and High Court of Parliament,
The humble Petition of *Alexander Leighton*, Prisoner in the *Fleet*;

Humbly Sheweth,

HOW your much and long distressed Petitioner, on the 17th of February gone ten Years, was apprehended in Black-Fryers, coming from the Sermon, by a High Commission Warrant (to which no Subject's Body is liable) and thence, with a Multitude of Staves and Bills, was dragged along (and all the way reproached by the Name of Jesuit and Traitor) till they brought him to London-house, where he was shut up, and, by a strong Guard, kept (without Food) till Seven
of

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

of the Clock, till Dr. Laud, then Prelate of London, and Dr. Corbet, then of Oxford, returned from Fulham-house, with a Troop attending. The Jailer of Newgate was sent for, who came with Irons, and with a strong Power of Halberts and Staves; they carried your Petitioner through a blind, hollow Way, without Pretence or Examination; and opening up a Gate into the Street (which some say had not been opened since Queen Mary's Days) they thrust him into a loathsome and ruinous Dog-hole, full of Rats and Mice, which had no Light but a little Grate; and the Roof being uncovered, the Snow and Rain beat in upon him, having no Bedding, nor Place to make a Fire, but the Ruins of an old smoaky Chimney; where he had neither Meat nor Drink, from the Tuesday at Night, till the Thursday at Noon. In this woful Place, and doleful Plight, they kept him close, with two Doors shut upon him, for the space of fifteen Weeks; suffering none to come at him, till at length his Wife was only admitted.

The fourth Day after his Commitment, the High Commission Pursevants came (under the Conduct of the Sheriffs of London) to your Petitioner's House, and a mighty Multitude with them; giving out, that they came to search for Jesuits Books. There these violent Fellows of Prey laid violent Hands upon your Petitioner's distressed Wife, with such barbarous Inhumanity, as he is ashamed to express; and so rifled every Soul in the House, holding a bent Pistol to a Child's Breast of five Years old, threatening to kill him, if he would not tell where the Books were; through which the Child was so affrighted, that he never cast it. They broke open Presses, Chests, Boxes, the Boards of the House, and every Thing they found in the Way, though they were willing to open all. They, and some of the Sheriffs Men, spoiled, robbed, and carried away all the Books and Manuscripts they found, with Household Stuff, your Peti-

Petitioner's Apparel, Arms, and other Things; so that they left nothing that liked them; notwithstanding your Petitioner's Wife told the Sheriffs, they might come to reckon for it. They carried also a great Number of divers of your Petitioner's Books, and other Things, from one Mr. Archer's House, as he will testify. Farther, your Petitioner being denied the Copy of his Commitment, by the Jailor of Newgate, his Wife, with some Friends, repaired to the Sheriff, offering him Bail, according to the Statute in that Behalf; which being shew'd by an Attorney at Law, the Sheriff replied, That he wished the Laws of the Land, and Privileges of the Subject, had never been named in the Parliament, &c. Your Petitioner (having thus suffered in Body, Liberty, Family, Estate, and House) at the End of fifteen Weeks was served with a Subpœna, on Information laid against him by Sir Robert Heath, then his Majesty's Attorney General; whose Dealing with your Prisoner was full of Cruelty and Deceit. In the mean Time it did more than appear, to four Physicians, that Poison had been given him in Newgate; for his Hair and Skin came off in a Sickness (deadly to the Eye) in the Height whereof, as he did lie, Censure was past against him in the Star Chamber, without hearing (which had not been heard of) notwithstanding of a Certificate from four Physicians, and Affidavit made by an Attorney, of the Desperateness of the Disease. But nothing would serve Dr. Laud, but the highest Censure that ever was pass'd in that Court to be put upon him; and so it was to be inflicted with Knife, Fire, and Whip, at and upon the Pillory, with ten thousand Pounds Fine; which some of the Lords conceived should never be inflicted; only it was imposed (as on a dying Man) to terrify others. But the said Doctor and his Combinants, caused the said Censure to be executed the 26th Day of November following (with a Witness).

For the Hangman was armed with Strong-drink all the Night before in Prison, and, with threatening Words, to do it cruelly. Your Petitioner's Hands being tied to a Stake (besides all other Torments) he received thirty-six Stripes with a trible Cord; after which, he stood almost two Hours on the Pillory, in cold Frost and Snow, and suffered the rest; as cutting off the Ear, firing the Face, and sitting of the Nose; so that he was made a Theatre of Misery to Men and Angels. [Here the Compassion of the House of Commons was so great, that they were generally in Tears, and ordered the Clerk to stop reading twice, till they had recovered themselves.] And being so broken with his Sufferings that he was not able to go, the Warden of the Fleet would not suffer him to be carried in a Coach; but he was forced to go by Water, to the farther indangering of his Life; returning to the Jail after much harsh and cruel Usage, for the Space of eight Years, paying more for a Chamber than the Worth of it (having not a bit of Bread, nor drop of Water allowed.) The Clerk of the Fleet, to top up your Petitioner's Sufferings, sent for him to his Office, and without Warrant, or Cause given by your Petitioner, set eight strong Men-fellows upon him, who tore his Clothes, bruised his Body, so that he was never well, and carried him by Head and Heels to that loathsome and common Jail; where, besides the Filthiness of the Place, and Vileness of the Company, divers Contrivances were laid for taking away the Life of your Petitioner, as shall manifestly appear, if your Honours will be pleased to receive and peruse a Schedal of that Subject.

Now the Cause of all this harsh, cruel, and continued ill Usage, unparalled yet upon any one since Britain was blessed with Christianity, was nothing but a Book written by your Petitioner, called Sion's Plea against the Prelacy; and that, by the Call of divers
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and many good Christians in the Parliament Time, after divers Refusals given by your Petitioner; who would not publish it being done, till it had the View and Approbation of the best in the City, Country, and University, and some of the Parliament it self: In Witness whereof he had about 500 Hands; for revealing of whose Names he was promised more Favours by Sir Robert Heath than he will speak of: But denying to turn Accuser of his Brethren, he was threaten'd with a Storm, which he felt to the full; wherein (through God's Mercy) he hath lived, though but lived; chusing rather to lay his Neck to the Yoke for others, than to release himself by others Sufferings.

Farther, the Petitioner was robbed of divers Goods, by one Lightborn, Graves, and others, Officers and Servants of the Fleet, amounting towards the Value of thirty Pounds, for which Lightborn offered Composition (by a second Hand) upon the hearing of the Approach of Parliament; but your Petitioner (notwithstanding his Necessity) refused to hearken to any such illegal and dangerous Way. To innumerate the rest of your Petitioner's heavy Pressures, would take up a Volume; with which he will not burden your Honours, till farther Opportunity.

And therefore, he humbly and heartily intreateth, that you would be graciously pleased to take this his Petition into your serious Thoughts, and to command Deliverance, that he may plead his own Cause, or rather Christ's, and the States. As also to afford such Cost and Damages as he has suffer'd in Body, Estate, and Family; having been Prisoner (and that many Times) in the most nasty Prisons, eleven Years, not suffered to breathe in the open Air: To which, give him leave to add his great Sufferings in all those Particulars, some sixteen Years ago, for publishing a Book, called, The Looking-glass of Holy War.

B b 2

Farther,

Farther, as the Cause is Christ's and the States, so your Petitioner conceiveth (under Correction) that the Subject of the Book will be the prime and main Matter of your Agitation, to whose Wisdom he hopeth the Book shall approve it self.

Also your Petitioner's wearing Age, going now in seventy-two Years, together with the Sickneses and Weakness of his long distressed Wife, require a Speedy Deliverance.

Lastly, the Sons of Death, the Jesuits, and Jesuited, have so long insulted in their own licentious Liberty, and over the Miseries of your Servant, and others; who, forbearing more Motives, craves Pardon for his Prolixity, being necessitated thereto from the Depth and Length of his Miseries. In all which he ceaseth not to pray, &c. and,

Kisseth your Hands.

Prov. xxiv. 11.

Wilt thou not deliver them that are drawn unto Death, and those that are ready to be slain?

When this mercyleless Sentence on Leighton was pronouncing, Laud stood up in publick Court, and pulled off his Cap, and gave God Thanks for it; and in his Diary he makes this Remark on the Execution, without one Word to discover that his Bowels yearned, or his Heart relented. Friday, Nov. 16. He (Leighton) was severely whipped; and being set in the Pillory, he had one of his Ears cut off, one side of his Nose slit, and branded on one Cheek with a red-hot Iron. And on that Day Sevensnight HIS SORES UPON HIS BACK, EAR, NOSE AND FACE, NOT BEING CURED, he was whipped again at the Pillory in Cheapside, and there had the Remainder of his Sentence executed upon him, by cutting off

off the other Ear, *slitting the other side of his Nose, and branding the other Cheek*^s.

These,

^s What must be the Man's Heart, who could order, and bear pronounced, with Thanksgivings to God, such a Sentence, and coolly record the bloody Execution of it, without bleeding himself for being the Occasion of it? And yet my good-natur'd Presbyterian tells the World, that *Laud was not more rigorous than Leighton's Crimes deserved; and hopes I will be ashamed to appear any more as an Advocate for such a Criminal.* For his Crimes, I never was an Advocate; but the Barbarity of his Enemies, and the execrable Cruelty of his Punishment, I detest; and so must every Man, that hath not divested himself of Humanity. The Parliament had a quite different Sense of his Punishment from Dr. Berryman, and voted that the Fine of 10000 Pounds, and the Sentence of corporal Punishment, and the Execution thereof, and the Imprisonment thereupon, were illegal; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, ought to give Satisfaction to *Leighton*, for his Damages sustain'd by his fifteen Weeks Imprisonment in *Newgate*, upon the said Bishop's Warrant.

The Truth is, there was too much reason for *Leighton's* Complaints, tho' the Manner of them I highly blame. He is said to have called the Queen *a Daughter of Heth*. Had he said she had been a bigotted Papist, the Charge would have been true; and the whole Kingdom knew it to be so. He is said to have exclaimed *against Prelacy, as Antichristian and Satanical.* All tyrannical, persecuting Prelacy, is Antichristian and Satanical. He said of the Bishops, they were *Men of Blood*; and the Charge was true of *Laud*, and several of his Brethren; and the Sentence executed on *Leighton*, proved that they delighted in Blood.

But says the compassionate Dr. B. *What, in the Name of Wonder, was not this a legal Sentence! Was it not legally executed?* No. The Parliament voted both the Sentence and Execution of it illegal, who I suppose knew what was the Law of England as well as this Reverend Advocate for Cruelty and Blood. For he ridicules the Indignation I express against *Laud's* Severity, as *making an heavy Outcry about cropping of Ears, and slitting of Noses, Mutilations and Blood.* And doth the Gentleman think these are Things to be sported with? Would he like these Marks impress'd upon his own Body? Would he think such Severities ever the more wholesome or pleasant, because administered, as he calls it, legally?

These, and the like Instances, are Specimens of this most reverend Prelate's Humanity, Compassion, and Christian Moderation. I shall only consider him in one View more, *viz.* his constant Regard to the Laws and Liberties of his Country.

He justified, and did all he could to support *Charles I.* in all the illegal and arbitrary Measures of his Government. In 1626, after he had dissolved his Parliament, because they were too intent upon the Redress of Grievances, tho' they had voted four Subsidies, and three Fifteenths, he resolved to raise Money by the illegal Method of a Loan. And to promote this, who so fit as *Laud*; who, with others of his Brethren, were, as the Compleat Historian expresses it, unhappily engaged in the Interest of Buckingham, and very forward in those Measures which the King unfortunately took. Accordingly *Laud* received a Command from the King to draw up Instructions to shew the Urgency of the King's Affairs, and his Occasions of Supply. These Instructions *Laud* soon got ready; and the King sent them as Letters of Precept to the two Archbishops, to be commu-

He seems indeed to think, that every Thing called Law is Right and Reason. But will he stand to the Consequences of this Principle, and justify all the Villanies that have been committed under colour of Law? Were not *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer* murdered by Law? Is not every Man who is burnt alive by the Inquisition, burnt by a legal Sentence, legally executed? Must not the Doctor upon this Principle vindicate the Murder of his very Lord and Master, because the chief Priests and People said, *We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die?* Admirable Casuist and Divine this! who vindicates the Barbarities practised on *Leighton*, by an Account that justifies the Condemnation of his own Saviour to the Cross; and rather than give up *Laud* as an infamous Persecutor, becomes an Advocate for the Destroyers of the Lord of Life and Glory.

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nicated to their Suffragans, to be published in all the Parishes of the Kingdom. This was justly looked upon as a Stratagem of State to promote the raising of Money without a Parliament, and *Laud* was employed as the fittest Tool to promote these arbitrary Measures of the King. The Papists joined with the Bishops, and were very forward in the Loan: Whilst the Puritans were backward in it; and some of the best Gentlemen in the Kingdom, upon their Refusal to lend Money, were immediately committed to several Jails.

Besides this, the Court had their Parsons to preach up absolute Obedience to the King's Commands. *Sibthorp*, in his Sermon at *Northampton*, laid it down as Gospel, that *'tis the King's Duty to direct and make Laws; that he doth whatever pleaseth him; and that 'tis the Subject's Duty to yield a passive Obedience.* *Manwaring* in a Sermon spoke more plainly, and affirmed, that *the King was not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his royal Will and Command, in imposing Loans and Taxes, without common Consent of Parliament, doth oblige the Subject's Conscience, upon pain of eternal Damnation; and that those who refused the Loan, became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty, and Rebellion.* And yet infamous as this Doctrine was, and subversive of all the Laws of the Kingdom, *Laud* was their Patron and Advocate; and in Contempt of the Censure of the House of Lords on *Manwaring*, gave him first as his Reward a good Benefice, and afterwards advanced him to the Bishoprick of *St. David*. And because this Parliament, which had censured *Manwaring*, had also complained of *Laud* himself, and passed a Vote against Innovations in Religion, and against such as should counsel and advise the

levying of Tonnage and Poundage without Grant of Parliament; *Laud*, out of his great Love for the Liberties of the Kingdom, advised the King to dissolve it; which he accordingly did, to the great Discontent of the Nation in general.

Another illegal Project for raising Money, was by a Tax to provide and maintain a certain Number of Ships, to guard the Seas; and Writs were sent all over the Kingdom, *An. 1636.* for this Purpose. *Laud* was peculiarly active in this Affair; and as several Persons refused to pay the Sums they were rated at, they were summoned before the Council Table, where they were Browbeaten, and sentenced to Jail by *Laud*, and others of the Council. *Laud* acknowledges he gave his Vote with the rest, and he had an Hand in these and almost all other illegal Pressures for Ship-Money; and in his Diary he tells us, that *Dec. 5, 1639.* A Resolution was voted at the Council Board, when he was present, to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish, and refuse, &c.

The endeavouring arbitrarily to reduce the Kirk of Scotland to the Discipline of the Church of England, was also by *Laud's* Persuasion and Advice; who was ordered by the King to hold continual Correspondence with the Bishops and Council of Scotland, and to take with them the necessary Measures to accomplish the Design. The Scots Bishops were so lifted up, says *Burnet*, with the King's Zeal, and so encouraged by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all Temper. And when the violent Measures that were used to impose the Liturgy, &c. drove the Scots to an open Rupture, he forwardly procured an Order of Council, directed to the two Archbishops, to write their several Letters to the Bishops, that they might

Wharton,
Vol. II.
p. 233.

Rapin,
Vol. II.
p. 300.

Vol. I.
p. 26.

might incite their Clergy to assist the King to reduce the Scots. *Laud* accordingly wrote to his several Suffragans, and raised by the Clergy a very great Sum on this Occasion. The Queen also wrote Letters to promote Contributions amongst the *Roman* Catholicks, to further the same good Cause. So that *Laud* and his Clergy, the Queen and her Papists, joined hand in hand to destroy or enslave the Protestants of *Scotland*; who rose in their own Defence, and to preserve themselves from the arbitrary Measures of this tyrannical Archbishop.

But it would be endless to reckon up all the Instances of his illegal Proceedings. He was a Confederate with all the Enemies of the Liberties of these Kingdoms, and pushed on the unhappy King to such fatal Measures, as at last produced the Civil Wars, and the Subversion of the Constitution. He was chief Counsellor and Minister after *Buckingham's* Death; so that as *Sir Edward Deering* said of him, to the Parliament, *Our manifold Grievs do fill a mighty and vast Circumference, yet so that from every Part our Lines of Sorrow do lead unto him, and point at him the Center, from whence our Miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Commonwealth, do flow.* *Sir Harbottle Grimstone* was more severe, who called him, *The Sty of all pestilential Filth*—*The great and common Enemy of all Goodness, and good Men*—*A Viper near his Majesty's Person, to distill Poison into his sacred Ears.*

These and the like Violences of *Laud*^h and his Creatures, drew down the just Vengeance of the Parliament on his Head, and involved the Church of

^h And yet this is the Man, to whose Name and Character Remarks, *Dr. B.* offers Incense as a Saint and Martyr. He calls him, p. 70. *Our great and good Archbishop! That blessed Martyr!* And as to Review, his p. 70.

of England it self in his Ruin. Bishops and Common Prayer were now no more. The Church was formed after a quite different Model, and the Presbyterian Discipline received and established; both the Lords and Commons taking the solemn League and Covenant, which was intended for the utter abolishing prelatical Government. The
Writers

his Death, he stiles it, *a most execrable Murder*; and pronounces me a Man of a persecuting Spirit, because I call his Death, *The just Vengeance of the Parliament*. I should be glad, for this Gentleman's own Reputation, that he would tell the World wherein true Greatness and Goodness consist. Do they lie in promoting adulterous Marriages? This blessed Martyr hints, in his Diary, something relating to this Matter. *Ap. 9. The Duke of Buckingham, whom upon all Accounts I am bound for ever to honour, signified to me that a certain Person, moved thro' I know not what Envy, had blackned my Name with his Majesty King Charles; laying hold for that Purpose of the Error, into which, by I know not what Fate, I had formerly fallen, in the Business of Charles Earl of Devonshire, 1605. Dec. 26.* This Error was, as hath been already related, marrying him to Lady Rich; tho' she her self was already married to a Nobleman, and had several Children by him then living. This is but an indifferent Note of a Saint and Martyr. But had he not other Virtues? Was he not remarkable for Compassion and Tenderness? No. He was severe and relentless, and punished for the lightest Offences in the most arbitrary and cruel Manner. But was he not humble and meek? No. He was an insolent Imposer, and a tyrannical Persecutor. But had he not a great deal of Zeal for the Beauty of Holiness, and Splendour of God's House? Yes; if Zeal for Pictures, Images, Bowings, and the like Mummeries, deserve the Name of Zeal for the House and Worship of God. But was he not a Man of a serious and devout Spirit? Yes; if a Zeal for Wakes and Revels on *Sundays*, and Plays on Week-days, be an Argument of true Devotion. But had he not a great deal of Courage and Faith in God? No. His own Diary shews him to have been an idle, superstitious Observer of Dreams and Accidents. But was he not zealous for the Liberties of his Country? No. He was forward in all the arbitrary Measures of *Charles I.* and by his violent Proceedings had a principal Hand in setting two Kingdoms into Confusion.

Writers of the Church Party think this an everlasting Brand of Infamy upon the Presbyterians. But how doth this throw greater Infamy upon them, than the Subversion of Presbytery in Scotland, and the imposing Canons and Common Prayer on that Nation, doth on *Laud* and his Creatures? If the Alteration of the established Religion,

Confusion. So that if he was a blessed Martyr, he was a Martyr without regard to Chastity, Compassion, Meekness, Devotion, the Rights of Conscience, and the Liberties of Mankind; nor do I know any Calendar his Name is fit to be inserted in, but that which hath the Names of *Becket*, *Dominick*, *Ignatius*, *Francis*, and others, who were the Incendiaries of the Ages they lived in, and a Scandal to the Christian Name and Character.

But it seems *his Zeal and affectionate Attachment to the Church* Rev. p. 70. of England, was the Cause of his Enemies implacable and restless Malice; and this is a Proof that his Death was a Martyrdom. But this is an Assertion so evidently contrary to the Truth of all History, that I am surprized any Man of Character will venture on it. *Laud* was, from the beginning of King *Charles's* Reign, considered as the Head and Protector of the *Arminian* Party. There was not a Parliament, in that King's Reign, in which he was not complained of on this Account. He was mentioned, in several Remonstrances to that Prince, as the great Protector of that Faction; and the Truth of it is, that he was an Enemy to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, as well as to the religious and civil Liberties of his Country. He promoted almost none in the Church, who were not Enemies to her Articles; he punished Men for preaching according to the plain Sense of them, and procured Proclamations to prohibit it; and, besides this, introduced such a Number of Fopperies and Superstitions into the Church, as made her Worship very much resemble the Idolatries of Rome, and which were never prescribed by any Statutes, Articles, Injunctions, Homilies, &c. of the Church of England. So that Dr. *Berryman's* affirming that *Laud* died for his affectionate Attachment to the Church of England, is not only notoriously false in Fact, but doing the highest Dishonour to his own spiritual Mother; whom *Laud* attempted to corrupt and debauch, and bring into all the Adulterous Methods that are sanctified and practised by the Church of Rome.

And

Religion, in any Nation, be a Crime in it self, 'tis so in every Nation; and I doubt not but the *Scotch* Presbyterians think that that Archbishop, and the prelatiſcal Party, acted as unjuſtly, illegally, and tyrannically, in introducing the *Engliſh* Form of Church Government and Worſhip into *Scotland*, contrary to their former Settlement, and the Inclination of almoſt the whole Nation, as the High-Church Party can do with re-

And methinks 'tis highly impolitick, at this Time of day, when Mens Eyes are open, and the Principles of Liberty ſpreading, to pretend to vindicate the Practices of this turbulent Prieſt, and repreſent him as a Saint and Martyr. All will not now go down that is delivered with a grave Air, and a ſolemn Face. Wiſe Men will judge of Characters, not as Partiality and Prieſtcraft may recommend them, but as Facts determine them; and tho' I know of no good Man that will reſuſe to eſteem and reverence a learned, ſober, moderate and pious Clergyman, yet I hope that imperious, tyrannical, and arbitrary Prieſts of all Denominations, will, notwithstanding the pretended Sanctity of their Character, fall and continue, to the End of the World, under that ſovereign Contempt which they ſo juſtly deſerve.

Remarks, I have only one Thing to add; which is, that I have been
p. 70. forced into this Account of *Laud*, by the rude and Ungentleman-
Review, like Treatment of Dr. B. who tells his Reader, *I have riſen with*
p. 69. *Rage and Vehemence againſt the great and good Archbiſhop Laud*; and *with a ſober Inſolence* aſſures the World, that I *rave* upon this Head with ſuch Heat and Vehemence, as ſeems to betray ſome Diſorder of Mind, *rather fit for the Care of a Phyſician, than ſerious Argument*. I know not what Right he, or any other Man, hath to treat me in this Way. What I have wrote is open to the World; and if he can convince me of Falſhood, I will fall under the Shame. He hath long threatned me, with other Hands, *to chaſtiſe my Inſolence more fully*. But the Chaſtiſer as yet thinks fit not to appear, and, I thank God, I ſleep in a whole Skin. But whenever he riſes out of his Obſcurity, I hope he will appear with a more Chriſtian and candid Spirit, than his Harbinger Dr. *Berryman*; otherwiſe he will forfeit his Right, as the Rector of *St. Andrew's Underſhaft* in every Page of his *Remarks* and *Review* hath done, to the Treatment of a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Divine.

Id. Ibid.

spect to the Presbyterians, for altering the Form of the Establishment in *England*: And, indeed, the same Arguments that will vindicate the Alterations made in *Scotland* by the King and the Bishops, will vindicate those made in *England* by the Parliament and the Presbyterians.

It would have been highly honourable to the *Presbyterians*, had they used their Power, when in Possession of it, with Moderation, and avoided all those Methods of Persecutions and Suspensions they had themselves felt the Effects of in former Times. But to do them Justice, they had no great Inclination for moderate Measures, or allowing any Form of Religion but their own; as appears from the larger Catechism of the *Westminster* Divines, approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*; in which the *Tolerating a false Religion* is ranked amongst the Sins forbidden in the second Commandment. And accordingly as soon as they came into the Church, all others must out who would not comply, and submit to Sequestrations and Imprisonments.

The solemn League and Covenant was imposed and rigorously exacted of all People, as they would escape the Brand and Penalty of *Malignants*. Many of the Episcopal Clergy, both in the City and Country, were expelled their Livings; tho' by a Generosity, not afterwards imitated by them, Provision was made for the Support of their Wives and Children. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council-Men of *London*, presented a Remonstrance to the Parliament, desiring a strict Course for suppressing all private and separate Congregations; that all Anabaptists, Hereticks, &c. as conformed not to the publick Discipline, may be declared and proceeded against; that all be required to obey the Government settled, or to be

be settled; and that none disaffected to the Presbyterian Government, be employ'd in any Place of publick Trust.

An Ordinance of Parliament was also made; by which every Minister that should use the Common Prayer, in Church or Family, was to forfeit five Pounds for the first Time, ten Pounds for the second, and to suffer a Year's Imprisonment for the third. Also every Minister, for every Neglect of the Directory, was to pay forty Shillings; and for every Contempt of it, by writing or preaching, to forfeit, at the Discretion of those before whom he was convicted, any Sum not under five Pounds, nor above fifty Pounds. The Parliament also appointed Elderships to suspend, at their Discretion, such whom they should judge to be scandalous, from the Sacrament, with a Liberty of Appeal to the classical Eldership, &c. They set up also arbitrary Rules about the Examination and Ordination of Ministers by *Triers*, who were to be found in Faith, and such as usually received the Sacrament. And in these Things they were quicken'd by the *Scots*, who complained that Reformation moved so slowly, and that Sects and Errors increased, and Endeavours were used for their Toleration. Great Restraints also were put upon the Liberty of the Press, by several Ordinances made for that Purpose. And to say the Truth, when they once got Presbytery established, they used the same Methods of Suspensions, Sequestrations and Fines, that the prelatical Party had done before, though not with equal Severity; and were as zealous for Uniformity in their own Covenant and Discipline, as the Bishops were for Hierarchy, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.

Charles II. But the Triumphs of the Presbytery and Covenant were but short. Upon the Restoration of the

the *Royal Wanderer*, Charles II. Prelacy immediately revived, and exerted it self in its primitive Vigour and Severity. In his Majesty's first Declaration to his loving Subjects, he was pleased to promise *a Liberty to tender Consciences*, and that no Man should be disquieted or called in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion; and that he would consent to an Act of Parliament for the full granting that Indulgence. But other Measures soon prevailed. In the second Year after his Restoration, the Act of Uniformity was passed; by which all Ministers were to read, and publickly declare unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every Thing contained in, and prescribed by the *Book of Common Prayer*, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew then ensuing, under the Penalty of immediate and absolute Deprivation. The Consequence of this Act was, that between two and three thousand excellent Divines were turned out of their Churches; many of them, to say the least, as eminent for Learning and Piety as the Bishops, who were the great Promoters of this barbarous Act; and themselves and Families, many of them, exposed to the greatest Distress and Poverty.

This cruel Injustice obliged the ejected Ministers, and their Friends, to set up separate Congregations; and occasioned such a Division from the established Church, as will, I hope, ever remain, to witness against the Tyranny of those Times, and the reverend Authors and Promoters of that Act, to maintain the Spirit and Practice of serious Religion, and as a publick Protestation for the civil and religious Liberties of Mankind, till Time shall be no more; or till the Church shall do her self the Justice and Honour to open wide her Gates, for the Reception of all into her Communion and Ministry, who are not rendered incapable

incapable of either, by Jesus Christ the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls. But however, Measures were then soon taken to disturb their Meetings. In 1664. the Bill against frequenting Conventicles passed; the first Offence made punishable with five Pounds, or three Months Imprisonment; the second Offence with ten Pounds, or six Months Imprisonment; and the third with Banishment to some of the foreign Plantations; sham Plots being father'd on the Dissenters, to prepare the Way for these Severities.

But some of the Bishops, such as *Sheldon*, *Ward*, *Wrenn*, &c. did not think these Hardships enough; and therefore, notwithstanding the Devastations of the Plague, and tho' several of the ejected Ministers shewed their Piety and Courage, in staying and preaching in the City during the Fury of it, the five Mile Act was passed against them the next Year at *Oxford*; by which all the silenced Ministers were obliged to take an Oath, that it was not lawful, on any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any commission'd by him; and that they would not, at any time, endeavour an Alteration in the Government of Church and State. Such who scrupled the Oath, were forbid to come within five Miles of any City or Parliament Burrough, or of the Church where they had been Ministers, under Penalty of forty Pounds, or six Months Imprisonment, for every Offence.

After these Things, several Attempts were set on foot for a Comprehension, but rendered ineffectual by the Practices of the Bishops; and particularly by *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, who had himself taken the solemn League and Covenant: But having forsaken his first Principles, 'tis no Wonder he became a bitter Persecutor. In the
Year

Year 1670. another severe Act was passed against them; by which it was provided, that if any Person, upwards of Sixteen, should be present at any Conventicle, under colour of exercising Religion in any other Manner than according to the Practice of the Church of *England*, where there were five Persons or more, besides those of the said Household, the Offenders were to pay five Shillings for the first Offence, and ten Shillings for the second; and the Preacher to forfeit twenty Pounds for the first, and forty Pounds for the second Offence. And those who knowingly suffered any such Conventicles in their Houses, Barns, Yards, &c. were to forfeit twenty Pounds. The Effect of these Acts was, that great Numbers of Ministers and their People were laid in Jails amongst Thieves and common Malefactors, where they suffered the greatest Hardships and Indignities; their Effects were seized on, and themselves and Families reduced to almost Beggary and Famine.

But at length this very Parliament, which had passed these severe Bills against Protestant Dissenters, began themselves to be awakened, and justly grew jealous of their Religion and Liberties, from the Increase of Popery: And therefore, to prevent all Dangers which might happen from Popish Recusants, they passed, in 1673. the *Test Act*; which hath since been, contrary to the original Design of the Law, turned against the Protestant Dissenters, and made use of to exclude them from the Enjoyment of those Rights and Privileges which they have a natural Claim to. In the Year 1680. a Bill passed both Houses of Parliament, for exempting his Majesty's Protestant dissenting Subjects from certain Penalties; but when the King came to the House to pass the Bills, this Bill was taken from the Table, and never heard of

more: And though this Parliament voted, that the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters, upon the penal Laws, was grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom; yet they underwent a fresh Prosecution, their Meetings were broken up, many Ministers imprisoned, and most exorbitant Fines levied on them and their Hearers.

James II.

In the Beginning of King *James's* Reign these rigorous Proceedings were continued; but as the Design of that unhappy bigotted Prince was to subvert the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms, he published, in the Year 1687. a Declaration for a general Liberty of Conscience to all Persons, of what Persuasion soever; not out of any Regard or Affection to the Protestant Dissenters, but for the promoting the Popish Religion and Interest. He also caused an Order of Council to be passed, that his Declaration of Indulgence should be read in all Churches and Chapels, in the Time of Divine Service, all over *England* and *Wales*. But though the Dissenters used the Liberty which was thus granted them, and had several Opportunities to have been revenged on their former Persecutors; yet they had too much Honour, and Regard to the Protestant Religion and Liberties, ever to fall in with the Measures of the Court, or lend their Assistance to introduce arbitrary Power and Popery. And as the Divines of the Church of *England*, when they saw King *James's* furious Measures to subvert the whole Constitution, threw off their stiff and haughty Carriage towards the Dissenters, owned them for Brethren, put on the Appearance of the Spirit of Peace and Charity, and assured them that no such rigorous Methods should be used towards them for the future,

ture, Things that never entered into their Hearts whilst they were triumphant in Power, and which nothing but a Sense of their own extreme Danger seems then to have extorted from them; the Dissenters, far from following their Resentments, readily entered into all Measures with them for the common Safety, and were amongst the first and heartiest Friends of the Revolution, under King *William III.* of glorious and immortal Memory.

Soon after the Settlement of this Prince upon *Will. III.* the Throne, an Act was passed for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the penal Laws; and though the King, in a Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, told them, *That he hoped they would leave Room for the Admission of all Protestants, that were willing and able to serve him*; agreeable to which, a Clause was ordered to be brought into the House of Lords, to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament to make Persons capable of Offices; yet his Majesty's gracious Intentions were frustrated, and the Clause rejected by a great Majority. Another Clause also that was afterwards added, That the receiving the Sacrament in the Church of *England*, or in any other Protestant Congregation, should be a sufficient Qualification, met with the same Fate as the former: So that though the Dissenters were freed from the penal Laws, they were left under a Brand of Infamy, and render'd incapable of serving their King and Country, and the Lord's Supper laid open to be prostituted by Law to the most abandon'd and profligate Sinners; and an Institution designed for the Union of all Christians, made the Test of a Party, and the Means of their Separation from each other; a Scandal that re-

mains upon the Church of *England* to this Day. It is indeed but too plain, that when the established Church saw it self out of Danger, she forgot her Promises of Moderation and Condescension towards the Dissenters, who readily and openly declared their Willingness to yield to a Coalition. But as the Clergy had formed a Resolution of consenting to no Alterations, in order to such an Union; all the Attempts made to this Purpose became wholly ineffectual. Indeed, their very Exemption from the penal Laws was envied them by many; and several Attempts were made to disturb and prosecute them in this Reign, but were prevented from taking Effect by royal Injunctions.

2. Anne. Upon the Death of King *William*, and the Succession of Queen *Anne*, the Hatred of the Clergy towards the Dissenters, that had lurked in their Breasts, during the former Reign, immediately broke out. Several Sermons were preached to render them odious, and expose them to the Fury of the Mob. A Bill was brought in and passed by the House of Commons, for preventing occasional Conformity, imposing an hundred Pounds Penalty upon every Person resorting to a Conventicle or Meeting, after his Admission into Offices, and five Pounds for every Day's Continuance in such Offices, after having been present at such Conventicle: But upon some Disagreement between the Lords and Commons, the Bill dropped for that Time. The same Bill, with some few Alterations, passed the House of Commons the two next Sessions, but was rejected by the Lords. During this Reign several Pamphlets were publish'd, containing bitter Invectives against the Dissenters, and exciting the Government to extirpate and destroy them. Several Prosecutions were
also

also carried on against them for teaching Schools, &c. with great Eagerness and Malice. In 1709. an open Rebellion broke out, when the Mob pulled down the Meeting-Houses, and publicly burnt the Pews and Pulpits. *Sacheverell* was Trumpet to the Rebellion, by preaching Treason and Persecution; and the Parliament that censured him, was hastily dissolved. The Parliament that succeeded, 1711. was of a true Tory Spirit and Completion; and, in its second Session, passed the Bill against occasional Conformity. The next Parliament, which met in 1714. was of the same Disposition, and passed a Bill to prevent the Growth of Schism; by which the Dissenters were restrained from teaching Schools, or from being Tutors to instruct Pupils in any Family, without the License of the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese where they resided; and the Justices of the Peace had Power given them finally to determine in all Cases relating thereto. Another Bill was also intended to be brought in against them, to incapacitate them for voting in Elections for Parliament Men, or being chosen Members of Parliament themselves.

But before these unjust Proceedings had their George I. intended Effect, the Protestant Succession, in his late Majesty King *George I.* took place; Queen *Anne* dying on the First of *August*, the very Day on which the Schism Bill was to have commenced; which, together with that to prevent occasional Conformity, were both repealed by the first Parliament called together by that excellent Prince. And I cannot help thinking that if the Church of *England* had then consented to have set the Dissenters intirely free, by repealing the Test and Corporation Acts; it would have been much to its own Honour and Reputation, as well as a great

Strength and Security to the national Interest. But the Time was not then come. We still labour under the Oppression of those two Acts; and notwithstanding our Zeal for his Majesty's Person and Family, must sit down as easy as we can, with the Inclination to serve him, whilst by Law we are denied the Opportunity and Power.

The Sentiments of his late Majesty, of glorious Memory, with respect to Moderation, and the Tolerating of Dissenters, were so fully understood by the whole Nation, as kept the Clergy in tolerable good Order, and from breaking out into many Outrages against them. But a Controversy that began amongst themselves, soon discovered what Spirit many of them were of. The then Bishop of *Bangor*, the now worthy and reverend Bishop of *Winchester*, happen'd, in a Sermon before his Majesty, to assert the supreme Authority of Christ as King in his own Kingdom; and that he had not delegated his Power, like temporal Lawgivers, during their Absence from their Kingdoms, to any Persons, as his Deputies and Vicegerents. *Anno 1717.* He also published his *Preservative*; in which he advanced some Positions contrary to temporal and spiritual Tyranny, and in behalf of the civil and religious Liberties of Mankind. The Goodness of his Lordship's Intentions to serve the Family of his present Majesty, the Interest of his Country, and the Honour of the Church of God, might methinks have screen'd him from all scurrilous Abuses. But how numerous were his Adversaries, and how hard the Weapons with which they attacked him! Not only the Dregs of the People and Clergy opened against him; but mighty Men, and Men of great Renown, from whom better Things might have been expected, enter'd the Lists with him, and became the avowed Cham-
pions

pions for spiritual Power, and the Division of the Kingdom between Christ Jesus and themselves. His Lordship of *Bangor* had this manifest Advantage upon the Face of the Argument. He pleaded for Christ's being King in his own Kingdom: His Adversaries pleaded for the Translation of his Kingdom to certain spiritual Viceroy's. He for Liberty of private Judgment, in Matters of Religion and Conscience: They for Dominion over the Faith and Consciences of others. He against all the Methods of Persecution: They for penal Laws; for Corporation and Test Acts, and the powerful Motives of positive and negative Discouragements. He with the Spirit of Meekness, and of a Friend to Truth: They with Bitterness and Rancour, and an evident Regard to Interest and Party.

However, the lower House of Convocation accused and prosecuted him, for attempting the Subversion of all Government and Discipline in the Church of Christ, with a View undoubtedly of bringing him under a spiritual Censure, and with impeaching the regal Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, to subject him to the Weight of a Civil one. Of the Bishop it must be said, to his everlasting Honour, that the Temper he discovered, under the Opposition he met with, and the Slanders that were thrown on him, was as much more amiable than that of his Adversaries, as his Cause was better, his Writings and Principles more consistent, and his Arguments more conclusive and convincing. But notwithstanding these Advantages, his Lordship had great reason to be thankful to God that the Civil Power supported and protected him; otherwise his Enemies would not, in all Probability, have been content with throwing Scandal upon his Character, but forced

him to have parted with SOMETHING, and then delivered him unto Satan for the Punishment of his Flesh, and made him have felt the Weight of that Authority, which God made him the happy and honourable Instrument of opposing; especially if they were all of them of a certain good Archdeacon's Mind, who thought he deserved to have his Tongue cut out.

Nelson's
Life of
p. Bull,
275,
76.

The Dissenters also have had their Quarrels and Controversies amongst themselves, and managed them with great Warmth and Eagerness of Temper. During their Persecution under King *Charles II.* and the common Danger of the Nation under his Brother *James*, they kept tolerably quiet; the Designs of the common Enemy to ruin them all, uniting them the more firmly amongst themselves. But after the Revolution, when they were secure from Oppression by the civil Power, they soon fell into eager Disputes about Justification, and other Points of like Nature. The high-flown orthodox Party would scarce own for their Brethren those who were for Moderation in these Principles, or who differed in the least from their Doctrine concerning them. And when they could no longer produce Reason and Scripture in their Defence, they, some of them, made use of infamous Methods of Scandal, and endeavoured to blast the Character of a reverend and worthy Divine, *Dr. Williams*, in the most desperate Manner; because they could no otherwise answer and refute his Arguments. But his Virtue stood the Shock of all their Attempts to defame it; for after about eight Weeks spent in an Enquiry into his Life, by a Committee of the united Ministers, which received all manner of Complaints and Accusations against him; it was declared at a general Meeting, as their unanimous Opinion, and repeated

peated and agreed to in three several Meetings successively, that he was intirely clear and innocent of all that was laid to his Charge.

Thus was he vindicated in the amplest Form, after the strictest Examination that could be made; and his Adversaries, who dealt in Defamation and Scandal, if not brought to Repentance, were yet put to Silence. It was almost incredible how much he was a Sufferer for his Opposition to *Antinomianism*, by a strong Party, who left nothing unattempted to crush him, if it had been possible. But as his Innocence appeared the brighter, after his Character had been thoroughly sifted, he was, under God, greatly instrumental in putting a Stop to those pernicious Opinions which his Opposers propagated; which struck at the very Essentials of all Natural and Revealed Religion. His *Gospel Truth* remains a Monument of his Honour; a Monument his Enemies were never able to destroy. However, nothing would serve, but his Exclusion from the Merchant's Lecture at *Pinner's-Hall*. Three other worthy Divines, who had been his Partners in that Service, bore him Company; and their Places were supplied with four others, of unquestionable Rigidness and Sterling Orthodoxy. Many Papers were drawn up on each side, in order to an Accommodation; so that it looked, as Dr. Calamy tells us, as if the Creed-making Age was again revived. It was insisted, that *Arminianism* should be renounced on one side, and *Antinomianism* on the other. But all was in vain; and the Papers that were drawn up to compose Matters, created new Heats, instead of extinguishing the old ones. These Contentions were kept up for several Years, till at last the Disputants grew weary, and the Controversy thread-bare, when it dropped of it self.

The

The HISTORY of PERSECUTION.

The next Thing that divided them was the *Trinitarian* Controversy, and the Affair of Subscription to human Creeds and Articles of Faith, as a Test of Orthodoxy. In the Year 1695. a great Contest arose about the Trinity, amongst the Divines of the Church of *England*, who charged each other with *Tritheism* and *Sabellianism*; and according to the ecclesiastical Manner of managing Disputes, bestowed Invectives and scurrilous Language very plentifully upon each other. The Dissenters, in the Reign of his late Majesty, not only unfortunately fell into the same Debate, but carried it on, some of them at least, with equal want of Prudence and Temper.

In the West of *England*, where the Fire first broke out, Moderation, Christian Forbearance, and Charity, seemed to have been wholly extinguished. The Reverend and Learned Mr. *James Peirce*, Minister in the City of *Exeter*, was dismissed from his Congregation, upon a Charge of Heresy; and treated, by his Opposers, with shameful Rudeness and Insolence. Other Congregations were also practised with, to discard their Pastors upon the same Suspicion, who were accused of impiously *denying the Lord that bought them*; to render them odious to their Congregations, merely because they could not come up to the unscriptural Tests of human Orthodoxy. And when several of the Ministers of *London* thought proper to interpose, and try, if by Advices for Peace, they could not compose the Differences of their Brethren in the West; this Christian Design was as furiously opposed as if it had been a Combination to extirpate Christianity it self; and a Proposal made in the Room of it, that the Article of the Church of *England*, and the Answer in the Assembly's Catechism, relating to the Trinity,

nity, should be subscribed by all the Ministers, as a Declaration of their Faith, and a Test of their Orthodoxy.

This Proposal was considered by many of the Ministers, not only as a Thing unreasonable in it self, thus to make Inquisition into the Faith of others, but highly inconsistent with the Character of Protestants, dissenting from the national Establishment; and dissenting from it for this Reason amongst others, because the established Church expressly claims *an Authority in Controversies of Faith*. And therefore, after the Affair had been debated for a considerable while, the Question was solemnly put, and the Proposal rejected by a Majority of Voices.

This the Zealots were highly displeased with, and accordingly publicly proclaimed their Resentments from the Pulpits. Fasts were appointed solemnly to deplore, confess, and pray against the Aboundings of Heresy; and their Sermons directly levelled against the two great Evils of the Church, *Nonsubscription* and *Arianism*. Through the Goodness of God they had no Power to proceed farther: And when Praying and Preaching in this Manner began to grow tedious, and were, by Experience, found to prove ineffectual, to put a Stop to the Progress of the Cause of Liberty, their Zeal immediately abated, the Cry of Heresy was seldomer heard, and the Alarm of the Church's being endangered by pernicious Errors, gradually ceased; it being very observable, that though Heresy be ever in its Nature the same Thing, yet that the Cry against it is either more or less, according as the political Managers of it can find more or fewer Passions to work on, or a greater or lesser Interest to subserve by it.

S E C T. VI.

Of Persecutions in New England.

IT hath been already remarked, in the foregoing Section, that the Rigours with which *Laud*, and his persecuting Brethren, treated the Puritans, occasioned many of them to transport themselves to *New England*, for the sake of enjoying that Liberty of Conscience, which they were cruelly denied in their native Country. And who could have imagined, but that their own Sufferings for Conscience sake must have excited in them an utter Abhorrence of these Antichristian Principles, by which they themselves had so deeply smarted? But tho' they carried over with them incurable Prejudices against persecuting Prelates, yet they seem many of them to have thought that they had the Right of Persecution in themselves; and accordingly practised many grievous Cruelties towards those who did not fall in with their Doctrine and Discipline, and Church Order.

I shall not here mention the Severities practised on great Numbers of Persons for supposed Witchcraft, to the great Blemish and Dishonour of the Government there, those Prosecutions being carried on not properly upon a religious Account; but I am obliged, in Justice, not to pass by the cruel Laws they made against the Persons called *Quakers*, who felt the Weight of their *Independent Discipline*, and were treated with the utmost Rigour by their Magistrates and Ministers.

In the Year 1656. a Law was made at *Boston*, prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any *Quakers* into that Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on Penalty of the House of Correction.

When

When this Law was published, one *Nicholas Upshal*, who was himself an Independent, argued against the Unreasonableness of such a Law; and warned them to take heed *not to fight against God*, and so draw down a Judgment upon the Land. For this they fined him twenty-three Pounds, imprisoned him for not coming to Church, and banished him out of their Jurisdiction.

But tho' this Law was executed upon many Id. p. 194
Persons with unrelenting and extreme Rigour; yet, as it did not entirely prevent the Quakers from coming into *New England*, a more cruel Law was made against them in the Year 1658. " That whosoever of the Inhabitants should, directly or indirectly, cause any of the Quakers " to come into that Jurisdiction, he *should forfeit one hundred Pounds to the Country, and be committed to Prison*, there to remain till the Penalty should be satisfied: And whosoever should entertain them, knowing them to be so, *should forfeit forty Shillings to the Country for every Hour's Entertainment or Concealment*, and be committed to Prison till the Forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. And farther, that all and every " of those People, that should arise amongst them there, should be dealt withal, and suffer the " like Punishment as the Laws provided for those that came in: *viz. That for the first Offence, " if a Male, one of his Ears should be cut off, and he kept at work in the House of Correction*, till he " should be sent away at his own Charge. For " the second, *the other Ear, and be kept in the House of Correction*, as aforesaid. If a Woman, then " *to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid*, as " the Male for the first; and for the second Offence, to be dealt withal as the first. And for " the third, *he or she should have their Tongues bored " through*

“ *through with an hot Iron, and be kept in the House*
 “ *of Correction close at work, till they be sent*
 “ *away at their own Charge.*”

Could it be imagined that the Authors of these bloody Laws had been forced from their own native Country by the Terrors of Persecution? Or that after all their Complaints, about the Violences and Oppressions of the Prelates against themselves, they should yet think Persecution for Conscience-sake a lawful Thing; and that they had a Right, as soon as ever they could get Power, to persecute others? The making such Laws, and the Execution of them, was certainly more detestable in them than others; who should have learnt Forbearance and Compassion towards others, by the Things which they themselves had suffered. And yet they seem to have been as devoid of these Virtues, as *Laud*, or any of his Brethren, against whom they had so bitterly and justly exclaimed.

Id. p. 195. In Pursuance of the before-mentioned Law, one *William Brend*, and *William Leddra*, were committed to the House of Correction at *Boston*; where they were kept five Days without Food, and after that received twenty Blows, each with a three-corded Whip. The next Day *Brend*, who was an elderly Man, was put in Irons, and tied Neck and Heels close together for sixteen Hours. The next Morning the Jailer took a pitched Rope, about an Inch thick, and gave him twenty Blows over the Back and Arms with as much Force as he could, so that the Rope untwisted. But he fetched another thicker and stronger, and gave him fourscore and seventeen more Blows, and threatened to give him as many more the next Morning. *Brend* had nothing on but a serge Cassock upon his Shirt, so that his Back and Arms were grievously bruised, and the Blood hung as
 in

in Bags under his Arms; and so cruelly was his Body mangled, that it was reduced almost to a perfect Jelly.

The same Year *John Copeland*, *Christopher Helder*, and *John Rous*, were apprehended and imprisoned, and condemned to have each of them their right Ear cut off by the Hangman; which was accordingly executed; after which they were whipp'd.

But Things did not stop here. *Norton*, and others of his Brethren the Ministers, petitioned the Magistrates to cause the Court to make some Law to banish the Quakers, upon pain of Death. The Court consisted of twenty-five Persons; and the Law being proposed, it was carried in the Affirmative, thirteen to twelve. As the Law is very peculiar, and contains the Reasons given by these *Independent Persecutors*, and shews the Severity of their Discipline, I shall give the Substance of it; which is as follows.

“ Whereas there is a pernicious Sect, com-Id. p. 195
 “ monly called *Quakers*, lately risen, who by
 “ word and writing have published and main-
 “ tained many dangerous and horrid Tenets, and
 “ do take on them to change and alter the re-
 “ ceived laudable Customs of our Nation, in
 “ giving civil Respect to Equals, or Reverence
 “ to Superiors, whose Actions tend to under-
 “ mine the Civil Government, and also to destroy
 “ the Order of the Churches, by denying all
 “ established Forms of Worship, and by with-
 “ drawing from orderly Church Fellowship, al-
 “ lowed and approved by all orthodox Professors
 “ of the Truth—whereby divers of our Inha-
 “ bitants have been infected;—for Prevention
 “ thereof, this Court doth order and enact, that
 “ every Person or Persons, of the *curst Sect* of
 “ the *Quakers*, who is not an Inhabitant of, but
 “ is

“ is found within this Jurisdiction, shall be appre-
 “ hended without Warrant, where no Magistrate
 “ is at hand, by any Constable, Commissioner, or
 “ select Man—who shall commit the said Person
 “ to close Prison, there to remain without Bail
 “ until the next Court of Assistance, where they
 “ shall have a legal Trial: And *being convicted to*
 “ *be of the Sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to*
 “ *be banished, upon pain of Death.* And that every
 “ Inhabitant of this Jurisdiction, being convicted
 “ to be of the aforesaid Sect, either by taking
 “ up, publishing, or defending the horrid Opini-
 “ ons of the *Quakers*, or the stirring up Mu-
 “ tiny, Sedition, and Rebellion against the Go-
 “ vernment, or by taking up their absurd and
 “ destructive Practices, *viz.* denying civil Respect
 “ to Equals and Superiors, and withdrawing
 “ from our Church Assemblies, and instead thereof
 “ frequent Meetings of their own, in opposition
 “ to our Church Order, or by adhering to, or
 “ approving of any known Quaker, and the Te-
 “ nets and Practices of the Quakers, that are
 “ opposite to *the Orthodox received Opinions of the*
 “ *Godly*, and endeavouring to disaffect others to
 “ civil Government, and Church Orders, or
 “ condemning the Practice and Proceeding of this
 “ Court against the Quakers, manifesting hereby
 “ their complying with those, whose Design is to
 “ overthrow the Order established in Church and
 “ State; every such Person, upon Conviction be-
 “ fore the said Court of Assistants, in manner as
 “ aforesaid, *shall be committed to close Prison for one*
 “ *Month*; and then, unless they chuse volunta-
 “ rily to depart this Jurisdiction, shall give Bond
 “ for their good Behaviour, and appear at the
 “ next Court; where continuing obstinate, and
 “ *refusing to retract or reform the aforesaid Opinions,*
 “ they

“ they shall be sentenced to Banishment, upon pain of
 “ Death: And any one Magistrate, upon Infor-
 “ mation given him of any such Person, shall
 “ cause him to be apprehended; and shall com-
 “ mit any such Person to Prison, according to his
 “ Discretion, until he come to Trial, as aforesaid.”

Here endeth, says my Author, *this sanguinary Act*, being more like to the Decrees of the Spanish Inquisition, than to the Laws of a reformed Christian Magistracy; consisting of such, who themselves, to shun Persecution (which was but a small Fine for not frequenting the publick Worship) had left Old England. And what was it occasioned this bloody Law? Why, because the poor Quakers refused to pull off their Hats, and withdrew from the Church Assemblies of these Independent Persecutors, and frequented their own Meetings, in opposition to their Church Order; and because the Quakers held Tenets opposite to the orthodox received Opinions of the Godly, *i. e.* opposite to their own Opinions, who by flying from *England* seem to have imagined that they carried away with them all the Orthodoxy and Godliness out of the Kingdom.

And to shew the Rigidness of their Discipline, and that they did not intend this Law merely *in terrorem*, they wickedly murdered several innocent Persons under the Cover of it, several of their Priests standing with pleasure to see them executed. Thus *William Robinson*, Merchant, *Marmaduke Stephenson*, *Mary Dyer*, and *William Leddra*, were hanged at *Boston* for being Quakers; and they would have proceeded to more Executions, had it not been for the *Mandamus* of *Charles II.* who, tho' a Papist, yet was of a more merciful Disposition than these *New England* Disciplinarians, and ordered all Proceedings against the Quakers immediately to stop.

It would be endless to recount all the Cruelties they used to these poor People, whom they imprisoned,

prisoned, unmercifully whipped, oppressed with Fines, and then condemned them to be sold to the Plantations, to answer the Fines they had laid upon them. But enough hath been said to shew the Inhumanity of their Spirit and Practice, and to raise in the Reader an Abhorrence and Detestation of such a Conduct in Men, who tho' they had been persecuted themselves, carried the Principles of Persecution with them into the Place of their Banishment, and used worse Severities towards others for Conscience-sake, than what they themselves had experienced from the bitterness of their Enemies; and thereby made it appear, that they complained against the Persecutions of the prelatical Party, not because they were for Moderation and Christian Charity in their own Conduct, but because they thought the Right of Persecution only in themselves, and that Violence ought not to be made use of to support any but the orthodox Opinions of such as they themselves esteemed to be godly, and to maintain what they called the Order and Fellowship of their own Churches.

p. 567. I have only to add, that I find also from the same Author, that the Quakers were much persecuted in *Scotland*; but as he hath given no particular Account of that Affair, I have nothing farther to enlarge upon that Subject.

And thus have I brought the History of Persecution down to our own Times, and Nation; and shewn how all Parties have, in their Turns of Power, been Sharers in this Guilt. If Church History would have afforded me a better Account, I assure my Reader he should have had it told with Pleasure. The Story, as it is, I have told with Grief. But 'tis time to dismiss him from so ungrateful an Entertainment, and see what useful Reflections we can make on the whole.

C O N-

CONCLUSION.

S E C T. I.

The Clergy the great Promoters of Persecution.

TIS a Truth too evident to be denied, That the Clergy in general, throughout almost all the several Ages of the Christian Church, have been deep and warm in the Measures of Persecution; as though it had been a Doctrine expressly inculcated in the sacred Writings, and recommended by the Practice of our Saviour and his Apostles. Indeed, could such a Charge as this have been justly fixed on the great Author of our Religion, or the Messengers he sent into the World to propagate it; I think it would have been such an Evidence of its having been dictated by weak or wicked, or worldly-minded Men, as nothing could possibly have disproved.

But that Christianity might be free from every Imputation of this kind, God was pleased to send his Son into the World, without any of the Advantages of worldly Riches and Grandure, and absolutely to disclaim all the Prerogatives of an earthly Kingdom. His distinguishing Character was that of *meek and lowly*; and the Methods by which he conquered and triumphed over his Enemies, and drew all Men to him, was *Patience and Constancy, even to the Death*. And when he sent out his own Apostles, he sent them out but poorly
D d 2 furnished,

furnished, to all human Appearance, for their
 Luke ix. 3. Journey; *without Staves, or Scrip, or Bread, or Money*, to let them know that he had but little of this World to give them; and that their whole Dependence was on Providence.

One Thing however he assured them of, that
 Matt. x. they should be *delivered up to the Councils, and scourged in the Synagogues, and be hated of all Men for his sake*. So far was he from giving them a Power to persecute, that he foretold them they must suffer Persecution for his Name. This the Event abundantly justified: And how amiable was their Behaviour under it? How greatly did they recommend the Religion they taught, by the Methods they took to propagate it? *The Arms of their Warfare were not carnal, but spiritual*. The Argument they used to convince those they preached to, was the *Demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power*. They approved themselves as the *Ministers of God, by much Patience, by Afflictions, Necessities, Distresses, Stripes, Imprisonments, Tumults, Labours, Watchings, Fastings, Purenese, Knowledge, Long-suffering, Kindness; by the Holy Ghost, by Love unfeigned, by the Word of Truth, by the Power of God, and by the Armour of Righteousness on the right Hand and on the left*. Oh how unlike were their pretended Successors to them in these Respects! How different their Methods to convince Gainfayers! Excommunications, Suspensions, Fines, Banishments, Imprisonments, Bonds, Scourges, Tortures and Death, were the powerful Arguments introduced into the Church; and recommended, practised, and sanctified by many of the pretended Fathers of it.

Even those whom Superstition hath dignified by the Name of Saints, *Athanasius, Chrysostom, Gregory, Cyril*, and others, grew wanton with Power, cruelly

cruelly oppressed those who differed from them, and stained most of them their Characters with the Guilt of Rapine and Murder. Their religious Quarrels were managed with such an unrelenting, furious Zeal, as disturbed the imperial Government, threw Kingdoms and Nations into Confusion, and turned the Church it self into an *Aceldama*, or Field of Blood. Some few there have been who were of a different Spirit; who not only abstained from persecuting Counsels and Measures themselves, but with great Justice and Freedom censured them in others. But as to your Saints and Fathers, your Patriarchs and Bishops, your Councils and Synods, together with the Rabble of Monks, they were most of them the Advisers, Abettors and Practisers of Persecution. They knew not how to brook Opposition to their own Opinions and Power, branded all Doctrines different from their own with the odious Name of Heresy, and used all their Arts and Influence to oppress and destroy those who presumed to maintain them. And this they did with such Unanimity and Constancy, through a long Succession of many Ages, as would tempt a Stander-by to think that a Bishop or Clergyman, and a Persecutor, were the same Thing, or meant the self-same individual Character and Office in the Christian Church.

I am far from writing these Things with any Design to depreciate and blacken the episcopal Order in general. 'Tis an Office of great Dignity and Use, according to the original Design of its Institution. But when that Design is forgotten, or wholly perverted; when, instead of becoming *Overseers* of the Flock of Christ, the Bishops *tare and devour* it, and proudly usurp *Dominion over the Consciences* of Christians, when

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they

they ought to be content with being *Helpers of their Joy*, I know no Reason why the Name should be complimented, or the Character held sacred, when 'tis abused to Insolence, Oppression and Tyranny; or why the venerable Names of Fathers and Saints should screen the Vices of the Bishops of former Ages, who, notwithstanding their writing in behalf of Christianity and Orthodoxy, brought some of them the greatest Disgrace on the Christian Religion, by their wicked Practices, and exposed it to the severest Satyrs of its professed Enemies: And for the Truth of this, I appeal to the foregoing History.

If any Observations on their Conduct should affect the Temper and Principles of any now living, they themselves only are answerable for it, and welcome to make what Use and Application of them they please. Sure I am that the representing them in their true Light, reflects an Honour upon those reverend and worthy Prelates, who maintain that Moderation and Humility which is essential to the true Dignity of the Episcopal Character, and who use no other Methods of Conviction and Persuasion but those truly Apostolical ones, of sound Reasoning and exemplary Piety. May God grant a great Increase, and a continual Succession of them in the Christian Church!



S E C T. II.

The Things for which Christians have persecuted one another generally of small Importance.

BUT as the Truth of History is not to be concealed; and as it can do no Service to the Christian Cause to palliate the Faults of any Set of Christians whatsoever, especially when all Parties have been more or less involved in the same Guilt; I must observe farther, as an Aggravation of this Guilt, that the Things for which Christians have persecuted each other, have been generally *Matters of no Importance in Religion*, and oftentimes such as have been *directly contrary* to the Nature of it. If my Reader would know upon what Accounts the Church hath been filled with Divisions and Schisms; why Excommunications and Anathemas have been so dreadfully tossed about; what hath given Occasion to such a Multitude of Suspensions, Depositions and Expulsions; what hath excited the Clergy to such numberless Violences, Rapines, Cruelties and Murders, he will probably be surprized to be informed that 'tis nothing of any Consequence or real Importance, nothing relating to the Substance and Life of pure and undefiled Religion; little besides hard Words, technical Terms, and inexplicable Phrases, Points of mere Speculation, abstruse Questions, and metaphysical Notions; Rites and Ceremonies, Forms of human Invention, and certain Institutions, that have had their Rise and Foundation only in Superstition: These have been the great Engines of Division; these the sad Occasions of Persecution.

Would it not excite sometimes Laughter, and sometimes Indignation, to read of a proud and imperious Prelate excommunicating the whole Christian Church, and sending, by Wholesale, to the Devil, all who did not agree with him in the precise Day of observing *Easter*? Especially when there is so far from being any Direction given by Christ or his Apostles about the Day, that there is not a single Word about the Festival it self. And is it not an amazing Instance of Stupidity and Superstition, that such a paltry and whimsical Controversy should actually engage, for many Years, the whole Christian World, and be debated with as much Warmth and Eagerness, as if all the Interests of the present and future State had been at Stake; as if Christ himself had been to be crucified afresh, and his whole Gospel to be subverted and destroyed.

The *Arian* Controversy, that made such Havock in the Christian Church, was, if I may be allowed to speak it without Offence, in the Beginning only about Words; though probably some of *Arius's* Party went farther afterwards than *Arius* himself did at first. *Arius*, as hath been shewn, expressly allowed the Son to be *πρὸ χρόνων*, *ἢ πρὸ αἰώνων*, before all Times and Ages, *πλήρης Θεός*, perfect God, *αὐαλλάωτος*, unchangeable, and begotten after the most perfect Likeness of the unbegotten Father. This, to me, appears to bid very fair for Orthodoxy; and was, I think, enough to have reconciled the Bishop and his Presbyter, if there had not been some other Reasons of the Animosity between them. But when other Terms were invented, that were hard to be understood, and difficult to be explained, the original Controversy ceased; and the Dispute then was about the Meaning of those Terms, and the Fitness of their

their Use in explaining the Divinity of the Son of God.

Arius knew not how to reconcile the Bishop's Words, ἀγεννῆς, ever begotten, with the Assertion, that the Son, συνυπαρχει ἀγεννῆτως τῷ θεῷ, co-exists unbegottenly with God; and thought it little less than a Contradiction to affirm, that he was ἀγεννηλογενῆς, unbegottenly begotten. And as to the Word ὁμοουσιος, Consubstantial, *Arius* seems to have thought that it destroyed the personal Subsistence of the Son, and brought in the Doctrine of *Sabellius*; or else, that it implied that the Son was μέρος τῆ πατρὸς, a Part of the Father; and for this Reason declined the Use of it. And, indeed, it doth not appear to me that the Council of *Nice* had themselves any determinate and fixed Meaning to the Word, as I think may be fairly inferred from the Debates of that Council with *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, about that Term; which, though put into their Creed, in opposition to the *Arians*, was yet explained by them in such a Sense, as almost any *Arian* could have, *bona fide*, subscribed.

On the other hand, the Bishop of *Alexandria* seems to have thought, that when *Arius* asserted that the Son existed θεληματι καὶ βουλῇ τῆ πατρὸς, by the Will and Counsel of the Father, it implied the Mutability of his Nature; and that, when he taught concerning the Son, οἱ νυν οἷε οὐκ ἦν, that there was a Time when he was not, it inferred his being a temporary, and not an eternal Being; though *Arius* expressly denied both these Consequences. In short, it was a Controversy upon this metaphysical Question, Whether or no God could generate ^{Theod.} or produce a Being, in Strictness of Speech, as eternal ^{E. H. l. 1.} as himself? Or, Whether God's generating the Son ^{c. 5.} doth not necessarily imply the Pre-existence of the Father, either ἐπινοια, in Conception, or ἀλογω τιμῇ, some small ima-

imaginable Point of Time ; as *Arius* imagined, and the Bishop denied.

This was, in Fact, the State of this Controversy. And did not the Emperor *Constantine* give a just Character of this Debate, when he declared the Occasion of the Difference to be very trifling ; and that their Quarrels arose from an idle itch of Disputation, since they did not contend about any essential Doctrine of the Gospel ? Could these hard Words and inexplicable Points justify the Clergy in their intemperate Zeal, and in their treating each other with the Rancour and Bitterness of the most implacable Enemies ? What hath the Doctrine of real Godliness, what hath the Church of God to do with these Debates ? Hath the Salvation of Mens Souls, and the Practice of Virtue, any Dependence upon Mens receiving unscriptural Words, in which they cannot believe, because they cannot understand them ; and which, those who first introduced them, were not able to explain ?

If I know my own Heart, I would be far from giving up any plain and important Doctrine of the Gospel. But will any Man coolly and soberly affirm, that nice and intricate Questions, that depend upon metaphysical Distinctions, and run so high as the most minute supposable Atome, or Point of Time, can be either plain or important Doctrines of the Gospel ? Oh Jesus ! if thou be the Son of the everlasting God, the Brightness of thy Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person ; if thou art the most perfect Resemblance of his all-perfect Goodness, that kind Benefactor, that God-like Friend to the human Race, which the faithful Records of thy Life declare thee to be, How can I believe the essential Doctrines of thy Gospel to be thus wrapped up in Darkness ; or,
that

that the Salvation of that Church, *which thou hast purchased with thy Blood*, depends on such mysterious and inexplicable Conditions? If thy Gospel represents thee right, surely thou must be better pleased with the humble, peaceable Christian, who when honestly searching into the Glories of thy Nature, and willing to give thee all the Adoration thy great Father hath ordered him to pay thee, falls into some Errors, as the Consequence of human Weakness; than with that imperious and tyrannical Disciple, who divides thy Members, tares the Bowels of thy Church, and spreads Confusion and Strife throughout thy Followers and Friends, even for the sake of Truths that lie remote from Mens Understanding, and in which thou hast not thought proper to make the full, the plain Decision. If Truth is not to be given up for the sake of Peace, I am sure Peace is not to be sacrificed for the sake of such Truths; and if the Gospel is a Rule worthy our Regard, the Clergy of those Times can never be excused for the Contentions they raised, and the Miseries they occasioned in the Christian World, upon account of them.

The third and fourth General Councils seem to have met upon an Occasion of much the like Importance. The first Council of *Nice* determined the Son to be a distinct Hypostasis, or Person from, but of the same Nature with the Father. The second at *Constantinople*, added the Holy Ghost to the same Substance of the Father, and made the same individual Nature to belong equally and wholly to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; thus making them three distinct Persons in one undivided Essence. But as they determined the Son to be truly Man, as well as truly God, the Bishops brought a new Controversy into the Church,
and

and fell into furious Debates and Quarrels about his Personality.

Nestorius, Bishop of *Constantinople*, with his Followers, maintained two distinct Persons in Christ, agreeable to his two distinct Natures. But Saint *Cyril*, the implacable Enemy of *Nestorius*, got a Council to decree, that the two Natures of God and Man being united together in our Lord, made one Person or Christ; and to curse all who should affirm that there were two distinct Persons or Subsistences in him.

'Tis evident, that either *Cyril* and his Council must have been in the wrong in this Decree, or the two former Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople* wrong in theirs; because 'tis certain, that they decreed the Word PERSON to be used in two infinitely different Senses. According to those of *Nice* and *Constantinople*, one individual Nature or Essence contain'd three distinct Persons: According to *Cyril's* Council, two Natures or Essences infinitely different, and as distinct as those of God and Man, constituted but one Person. Now how one Nature should be three Persons, and yet two Natures one Person, will require the Skill even of Infallibility it self to explain; and as these Decrees are evidently contradictory to one another, I am afraid we must allow that the Holy Ghost had no Hand in one or other of them.

This some of the Clergy very easily observed; and therefore, to maintain the Unity of the Person of Christ, *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* maintained, that though Christ consisted of two Natures before his Incarnation, yet after that he had but one Nature only. But this was condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Contradictions of the former Councils declared all to be true, and render'd sacred with the Stamp of Orthodoxy.

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This was also ratified by the fifth Council under *Justinian*, who also piously and charitably raked into the Dust of poor *Origen*, and damned him for an Heretick.

But still there was a Difficulty yet remaining, about the Person of Christ: For as Christ's being one Person did not destroy the Distinction of his two Natures, it became a very important and warm Controversy, Whether Christ had any more than one Will, as he was but one Person in two Natures? or, Whether he had not two Wills, agreeable to his two distinct Natures, united in one Person? This occasioned the calling the sixth General Council, who determined it for the two Wills; in which, according to my poor Judgment, they were very wrong. And had I had the Honour to have been of this venerable Assembly, I would have compleated the Mystery, by decreeing, that as Christ had but one Person, he could have but one personal Will; but however, that as he had two Natures, he must also have two natural Wills.

I beg my Reader's Pardon for thus presuming to offer my own Judgment, in opposition to the Decree of the holy Fathers; but at the same Time I cannot help smiling at the Thought of two or three hundred venerable Bishops and Fathers thus trifling in Council, and solemnly playing at Questions and Commands, to puzzle others, and divert themselves. Were it not for the fatal Consequences that attended their Decisions, I should look on them as *Bishops in Masquerade*, met together only to ridicule the Order, or to set the People a laughing at so awkward a Mixture of Gravity and Folly. Surely the Reverend Clergy of those Days had but little to do amongst their Flocks, or but little Regard to the Nature
and

and End of their Office. Had they been faithful to their Character, instead of *doting about Questions and Strifes of Words*, whereof came Envy, Strife, Railings, evil Surmisings, perverse Disputings of Men of corrupt Minds, and destitute of the Truth, supposing that Gain is Godliness, they would have consented to, and taught wholesome Words, even the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Doctrine which is according to Godliness.

But this was not the Temper of the Times. It would have been indeed more tolerable, had the Clergy confined their Quarrels to themselves, and quarrelled only about speculative Doctrines and harmless Contradictions. But to interest the whole Christian World in these Contentions, and to excite furious Persecutions for the Support of Doctrines and Practices, even opposite to the Nature, and destructive of the very end of Christianity, is equally monstrous and astonishing. And yet this is the Case of the seventh General Council, who decreed the Adoration of the Virgin Mary, of Angels and of Saints, of Relicks, of Images and Pictures, and who thereby obscured the Dignity, and corrupted the Simplicity of the Christian Worship and Doctrine. This the venerable Fathers of that Council did, and pronounced Anathemas against all who would not come into their idolatrous Practices, and excited the Civil Power to oppress and destroy them.



S E C T. III.

Pride, Ambition, and Covetousness, the grand Sources of Persecution.

SURELY it could not be a Zeal for God and Christ, and the Truth and Honour of Christianity; no real Love to Piety and Virtue, that prompted and led the Bishops and their Clergy on to these Acts of Injustice and Cruelty. Without any Breach of Charity, it may be asserted of most, if not all of them, that 'twas their Pride, and their immoderate Love of Dominion, Grandure and Riches, that influenced them to these unworthy and wicked Measures. The Interest of Religion and Truth, the Honour of God and the Church, is I know the stale Pretence; but a Pretence, I am afraid, that hath but little Probability or Truth to support it.

For what hath Religion to do with the Observation of Days? or, What could excite *Victor* to excommunicate so many Churches about *Easter*, but the Pride of his Heart, and to let the World see how large a Power he had to send Souls to the Devil? How is the Honour of God promoted, by Speculations that have no Tendency to Godliness? Will any Man seriously affirm, that the ancient Disputes about *υποστασις, πρσωπον, ιδιοτης, ουσια, ομοουσιος, ομοιουσιος*, and the rest of the hard Words that were invented, did any Honour to the Name of Christ, or were of any Advantage to the Religion of his Gospel? Or, can he believe that *Alexander, Arius, Athanasius, Macedonius*, and others, were influenced in all their Contentions and Quarrels, in all the Confusions they were the Authors of, and the Murders they
occa-

occasioned, purely by religious Motives? Surely the Honour of Religion must be promoted by other Means; and genuine Christianity may flourish, and, indeed, would have flourish'd much better, had these Disputes never been introduced into the Church; or had they been managed with Moderation and Forbearance. But such was the Haughtiness of the Clergy, such their Thirst of Dominion over the Consciences of others, such their Impatience of Contradiction, that nothing would content them but implicit Faith to their Creeds, absolute Subjection to their Decrees, and Subscription to their Articles without Examination or Conviction of their Truth; or for want of these, Anathemas, Depositions, Banishments and Death.

The History of all the Councils, and of almost all the Bishops, that is left us, is a Demonstration of this sad Truth. What Council can be named, that did not assume a Power to explain, amend, settle, and determine the Faith? That did not anathematize and depose those who could not agree to their Decisions, and that did not excite the Emperors to oppress and destroy them? Was this the Humility and Condescension of Servants and Ministers? Was not this lording it over the Heritage of God, seating themselves in the Throne of the Son of God, and making themselves owned as *Fathers and Masters*, in opposition to the express Command of Christ to the contrary?

Apud Co- *Clemens Romanus*, in his first Epistle to the Co-
tel. p. 173. *rinthians*, Cap. 44. tells us, That ⁱ *the Apostles*
Edit. Am- *knew, by the Lord Jesus Christ, that the Episcopal*
stel. *Name and Office would be the Occasion of Contention*

ⁱ Καὶ οἱ ἀποστολοὶ ἡμῶν ἐγνώσαν διὰ τὸ Κλεμεν ἡμῶν Ἰνστ
Κεϊσε, ὅτι εἰς εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς.

in the Christian Church; a ^k noble Instance, says the learned Fell, in his Remarks on the Place, of the prophetick Spirit of the Apostolick Age. Formerly, he adds, that *Mens Ambition and evil Practices to obtain this Dignity, produced Schisms and Heresies.* And 'twas indeed no wonder that such Disorders and Confusions should be occasioned, when the Bishopricks were certain Steps, not only to Power and Dominion, but to the Emoluments and Advantages of Riches and Honours.

Even long before the Time of *Constantine*, the Clergy had got a very great Ascendant over the Laity, and grew, many of them, rich, by the voluntary Oblations of the People: But the Grants of that Emperor confirm'd them in a worldly Spirit, and the Dignities and vast Revenues that were annexed to many of the Sees, gave rise to infinite Evils and Disturbances. So they could but get Possession of them, they cared not by what Means; whether by clandestine Ordinations, scandalous Symony, the Expulsion of the Possessors, or thro' the Blood of their Enemies. How many Lives were lost at *Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch*, by the furious Contentions of the Bishops of those Sees; deposing one another, and forcibly entring upon Possession? Would *Athanasius*, and *Macedonius*, *Damasus*, and others, have given Occasion to such Tumults and Murders, merely for Words and Creeds, had there not been somewhat more substantial to have been got by their Bishopricks? Would *Cyril* have persecuted the *Novatians*, had it not been for the sake of their Riches, of which he plunder'd them,

^k Luculenta praesentio rerum——quaeque propheticum Apostolici aevi——Spiritus profitetur. Olim schismata & haereses subinde ortae, prae fastigii istius desiderio & ambitu.

soon after his Advancement to the See of *Alexandria*? No. The Character given by the Historian of *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Synada*, may be too truly applied to almost all the rest of them; who persecuted the Followers of *Macedonius*, not from a Principle of Zeal for the Faith, but through a covetous Temper, and the Love of Money. This *St. Jerome* observed with Grief, in the Passage cited p. 86. of this History; and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an Heathen Writer, reproached them with, in the Passage cited p. 113.

S E C T. IV.

The Decrees of Councils and Synods of no Authority in Matters of Faith.

I Think it will evidently follow, from this Account, that the Determinations of Councils, and the Decrees of Synods, as to Matters of Faith, are of no manner of Authority, and can carry no Obligation upon any Christian whatsoever. I will not mention here one Reason, which would be it self sufficient, if all others were wanting, *viz.* That they have no Power given them, in any Part of the Gospel Revelation, to make these Decisions in controverted Points, and to oblige others to subscribe them; and that therefore the Pretence to it is an Usurpation of what belongs to the great God, who only hath, and can have a Right to prescribe to the Consciences of Men.

But to let this pass; what one Council can be fixed upon, that will appear to be composed of such Persons, as, upon an impartial Examination, can be allowed to be fit for the Work of settling the Faith, and determining all Controversies relating to it? I mean, in which the Majority of
the

the Members may, in Charity, be supposed to be disinterested, wise, learned, peaceable and pious Men? Will any Man undertake to affirm this of the Council of *Nice*? Can any Thing be more evident, than that the Members of that venerable Assembly came, many of them, full of Passion and Resentment; that others of them were crafty and wicked, and others ignorant and weak? Did their meeting together in a Synod immediately cure them of their Desire of Revenge, make the Wicked virtuous, or the Ignorant wise? If not, their joint Decree, as a Synod, could really be of no more Weight than their private Opinions; nor perhaps of so much; because, 'tis well known, that the great Transactions of such Assemblies are generally managed and conducted by a few; and that Authority, Persuasion, Prospect of Interest, and other temporal Motives, are commonly made use of to secure a Majority. The Orthodox have taken care to destroy all the Accounts given of this Council by those of the opposite Party; and *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, hath passed it over in Silence; and only dropped two or three Hints, that are very far from being favourable to those reverend Fathers. In a word, nothing can be collected from Friends or Enemies, to induce one to believe that they had any of those Qualifications which were necessary to fit them for the Province they had undertaken, of settling the Peace of the Church by a fair, candid and impartial Determination of the Controversy that divided it: So that the Emperor *Constantine*, and *Socrates* the Historian, took the most effectual Method to vindicate their Honour, by pronouncing them inspired by the Holy Ghost; which they had great need of, to make up the want of all other Qualifications.

Greg. Naz.
Vol. II.
p. 81.

The second General Council were plainly the Creatures of the Emperor *Theodosius*, all of his own Party, and convened to do as he bid them; which they did, by confirming the *Nicene* Faith, and condemning all Heresies: A Council of *Geese* and *Cranes*, and chattering *Jackdaws*; noisy and tumultuous, endlessly contending for Episcopal Sees and Thrones. The third General Council were the Creatures of *Cyril*, who was their President, and the inveterate Enemy of *Nestorius*, whom he condemned for Heresy, and was himself condemned for his Rashness in this Affair, and excommunicated by the Bishop of *Antioch*. The fourth met under the Aves of the Emperor *Marcian*; managed their Debates with Noise and Tumult, were formed into a Majority by the Intrigues of the Legates of *Rome*, and settled the Faith by the Opinions of *Athanasius*, *Cyril*, and others. I need not mention more; the farther we go, the worse they will appear.

Now may it not be asked, How came the few Bishops, who met by Command of *Theodosius*, this Council of *Wasps*, to be stiled an Oecumenical or General Council? As they came to decree, as he decreed they should, what Authority, with any wise Man, can their Decisions have? As they were all of one Side, except thirty-six of the *Macedonian* Party, who were afterwards added, what less could be expected, but that they would decree themselves Orthodox, establish their own Creed, and anathematize all others for Hereticks? And as to the next Council, I confess I can pay no Respect or Reverence to a Set of Clergy met under the Direction and Influence of a Man of *Cyril's* Principles and Morals; especially as the main Transaction of that Council was hurried on by a Desire of Revenge, and done before the
Arrival

Arrival of the Bishop of *Antioch*, with his suffragan Brethren, and condemned by him as soon as he was informed of it; till at length the Power and Influence of the Emperor reconciled the two haughty Prelates, made them reverse their mutual Excommunications, decree the same Doctrine, and join in pronouncing the same Anathemas. Cannot any one discern more of Resentment and Pride in their first Quarrel, than of a Regard to Truth and Peace; and more of Complaisance to the Emperor, than of Concern for the Honour of Christ, in their after Reconciliation? And as to the next Council, let any one but read over the Account given of it by *Evagrius*; what horrible Confusions there were amongst them; how they threw about Anathemas and Curses; how they father'd their Violences on Christ; how they settled the Faith by the Doctrines of *Athanasius*, *Cyril*, and other Fathers; and if he can bring himself to pay any Reverence to their Decrees, I envy him not the Submission he pays them, nor the Rule by which he guides and determines his Belief.

I confess I cannot read the Account of these Transactions, their ascribing their Anathemas and Curses to Christ and the Holy Trinity, and their Decisions as to the Faith, to the Holy Ghost, without Indignation at the horrid Abuse of those sacred Names. Their very meeting to pronounce Damnation on their Adversaries, and to form Creeds for the Consciences of others, is no less than a Demonstration that they had no Concurrence of the Son of God, no Influence of the Holy Spirit of God. The Faith was already settled for them, and for all other Christians, in the sacred Writings, and needed no Decision of Councils to explain and amend it. The very Attempt was

Insolence and Usurpation. Infallibility is a necessary Qualification for an Office of such Importance. But what Promise is there made to Councils of this divine Gift? or, if there should be any such Promise made to them; yet the Method of their Debates, their scandalous Arts to defame their Adversaries, and the Contradictions they decreed for Truth and Gospel, prove, to the fullest Conviction, that they forfeited the Grace of it. And indeed, if *the Fruits of the Spirit are Love, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness and Meekness*, there appeared few or no Signs of them in any of the Councils. The Soil was too rank and hot to produce them.

I wish, for the Honour of the former Times, I could give a better Account of these Assemblies of the Clergy, and see reason to believe my self that they were, generally speaking, Men of Integrity, Wisdom, Candour, Moderation and Virtue. The Debates of such Men would have deserved Regard, and their Opinions would have challenged a proper Reverence. But even had this been the Case, their Opinions could have been no Rule to others; and how great a Veneration soever we might have had for their Characters, we ought, as Men and Christians, to have examined their Principles. There is one Rule superior to them and us, by which Christians are to try all Doctrines and Spirits; the Decision of which is more sacred than that of all human Wisdom and Authority, and every where, and in all Ages, obligatory. But as the ancient Councils consisted of Men of quite other Dispositions; and as their Decisions in Matters of Faith were arbitrary and unwarranted; and as those Decisions themselves were generally owing to Court Practices, intriguing Statesmen, the Thirst of Revenge, the

Manage-

Management of a few crafty interested Bishops, to Noise and Tumult, the Prospects and Hopes of Promotions and Translations, and other the like Causes, the Reverence paid them by many Christians is truly surprizing; and I cannot account for it any way but one, *viz.* that those who thus cry up their Authority, are in hopes of succeeding them in their Power; and therefore would fain persuade others that their Decrees are sacred and binding, to make way for the imposing of their own.

It would be well worth the while of some of these Council-mongers to lay down some proper Rules and Distinctions, by which we may judge what Councils are to be received, and which to be rejected; and particularly why the four first General Councils should be submitted to, in Preference to all others. Councils have often decreed contrary to Councils, and the same Bishops have decreed different Things in different Councils; and even the third and fourth General Councils determined the Use of the Word PERSON in an infinitely different Sense from what the two first did. Heretical Councils, as they are called, have been more in Number than some Orthodox General ones, called by the same imperial Authority, have claimed the same Powers, pretended to the same Influence of the Holy Ghost, and pronounced the same Anathemas against Principles and Persons. By what *Criteria* or certain Marks then must we judge, which of these Councils are thieving, general, particular, orthodox, heretical, and which not? The Councils themselves must not be Judges in their own Cause; for then we must receive, or reject them all. The Characters of the Bishops that composed them will not do, for their Characters seem equally amiable and

Christian on each side. The Nature of the Doctrine, *as decreed by them*, is far from being a safe Rule; because, if human Authority, or Church Power makes Truth in any Case, it makes it in every Case; and therefore, upon this Foot, the Decrees at *Tyre* and *Ephesus* are as truly binding, as those at *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. Or, if we must judge of the Councils by the Nature of the Doctrine, abstracted from all human Authority, those Councils can have no Authority at all. Every Man must sit in Judgment over them, and try them by Reason and Scripture, and reject and receive them, just as he would do the Opinions of any other Persons whatsoever. And, I humbly conceive, they should have no better Treatment, because they deserve none.

S E C T. V.

The imposing Subscriptions to Human Creeds unreasonable and pernicious.

IF then the Decrees of Fathers and Councils, if the Decisions of human Authority in Matters of Religion are of no avail, and carry with them no Obligation; it follows, that the imposing Subscriptions to Creeds and Articles of Faith, as Tests of Orthodoxy, is a Thing unreasonable in it self, as it hath proved of infinite ill Consequence in the Church of God.

I call it an *unreasonable Custom*, not only because where there is no Power to make Creeds for others, there can be no Right to impose them; but because no one good Reason can be assigned for the Use and Continuance of this Practice. For, as my Lord Bishop of *London* admirably well explains
this

this Matter¹, As long as Men are Men, and have different Degrees of Understanding, and every one a Partiality to his own Conceptions, it is not to be expected that they should agree in any one entire Scheme, and every Part of it, in the Circumstances as well as the Substance, in the Manner of Things, as well as in the Things themselves. The Question therefore is not in general about a Difference in Opinion, which, in our present State, is unavoidable; but about the Weight and Importance of the Things wherein Christians differ, and the Things wherein they agree. And it will appear, that the several Denominations of Christians agree both in the Substance of Religion, and in the necessary Inforcements of the Practice of it. That the World, and all Things in it, were created by God, and are under the Direction and Government of his all-powerful Hand, and all-seeing Eye; that there is an essential Difference between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice; that there will be a State of future Rewards and Punishments, according to our Behaviour in this Life; that Christ was a Teacher sent from God, and that his Apostles were divinely inspired; that all Christians are bound to declare and profess themselves to be his Disciples; that not only the Exercise of the several Virtues, but also a Belief in Christ is necessary, in order to their obtaining the Pardon of Sin, the Favour of God, and eternal Life; that the Worship of God is to be performed chiefly by the Heart, in Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings; and, as to all other Points, that they are bound to live by the Rules which Christ and his Apostles have left them in the Holy Scriptures. Here then, adds the learned Bishop, is a fixed, certain, and uniform Rule of Faith and Practice, containing all the most necessary Points of Religion, established by

¹ See my Vindication of this Passage, against the Misrepresentations of Presbyter Berryman.

a divine Sanction, embraced as such by all Denominations of Christians, and in it self abundantly sufficient to preserve the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in the World. As to Points of greater Intricacy, and which require uncommon Degrees of Penetration and Knowledge; such indeed have been Subjects of Dispute, amongst Persons of Study and Learning, in the several Ages of the Christian Church; but the People are not obliged to enter into them, so long as they do not touch the Foundations of Christianity, nor have an Influence upon Practice. In other Points it is sufficient that they believe the Doctrines, so far as they find, upon due Enquiry and Examination, according to their several Abilities and Opportunities, that God hath revealed them.

This incomparable Passage of this Reverend and truly Charitable Prelate, I have transcribed intire; because it will undoubtedly give a Sanction to my own Principles of universal Benevolence and Charity. His Lordship affirms, that *all Denominations of Christians* (he will allow me to mention a few of them; Socinians, Arians, Athanasians, Sabellians, Pelagians, Arminians, Calvinists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, &c.) *agree in the Substance of Religion, and in the necessary Enforcements of the Practice of it; inasmuch as they do all believe firmly and sincerely those Principles which his Lordship calls, with great Reason and Truth, a fixed, certain, and uniform Rule of Faith and Practice, as containing all the most necessary Points of Religion, and in it self abundantly sufficient to preserve the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in the World.*

My Inference from this noble Concession, for which all the Friends to Liberty, in Church and State, throughout *Great Britain*, will thank his Lordship, is this; that since all Denominations of
Christians

Christians do, in his Lordship's Judgment, receive his fixed, certain, and uniform Rule of Faith, and embrace all the most necessary Points of Religion; to impose Subscriptions to Articles of Faith and human Creeds, must be a very unreasonable and needless Thing: For either such Articles and Creeds contain nothing more than this same Rule of Faith and Practice, and then all Subscription to them is Impertinent, because this is already received by all Denominations of Christians, and is abundantly sufficient, by the Bishop's own Allowance, to preserve the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in the World; or such Articles and Creeds contain something more than his Lordship's fixed Rule of Faith and Practice, something more than all the most necessary Points of Religion, something more than is sufficient to preserve the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in the World, *b. e.* some very unnecessary Points of Religion, something on which the Preservation of Religion doth not depend; and of consequence, Subscriptions to unnecessary Articles of Faith, on which Religion doth not depend, can never be necessary to qualify any Person for a Minister of the Church of Christ, and therefore not for the Church of *England*, if that be Part of the Church of Christ. And this is the more unnecessary, because, as his Lordship farther well observes, *the People are not obliged to enter into them, so long as they do not touch the Foundations of Christianity*, i. e. so far as his Lordship's certain, fixed and uniform Rule, which contains all necessary Points of Religion, is not affected by them. And if the People are not obliged to enter into Points of great Intricacy and Dispute, I humbly conceive the Clergy cannot be obliged to preach them; and that of consequence 'tis as
absurd

absurd to impose upon them Subscriptions to such Things, as to oblige them to subscribe what they need not preach, nor any of their People believe.

Upon his Lordship's Principles, the imposing Subscriptions to the hard, unscriptural Expressions of the *Athanasians* and *Arians*, by each Party in their Turns, and to the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*, must be a very unreasonable and unchristian Thing; because, the Peculiarities to be subscribed, do not one of them enter into his specified Points of Religion, and of consequence are not necessary to preserve Religion in the World; and after so publick a Declaration of Charity towards all Denominations of Christians, and the Safety of Religion and the Church, upon the general Principles he hath laid down, there is no reason to doubt but his Lordship will use that Power and Influence which God hath entrusted him with, to remove the Wall of Separation in the established Church, in order to the uniting all differing Sects, all Denominations of Christians, in one visible Communion; and that he will join in that most Christian and Catholick Prayer and Benediction of one of his own Brethren, though disapproved of by another of narrower Principles, *Blessed be they who have contributed to so good a Work.*

*Bishop of
Bangor's
Answer to
the Dean
of Wor-
cester.
Postscript,
p. 207.*

Subscriptions have ever been a Grievance in the Church of God; and the first Introduction of them was owing to Pride, and the Claim of an unrighteous and ungodly Power. Neither the Warrant of Scripture, nor the Interest of Truth, made them necessary. 'Tis, I think, but by few, if any, pretended that the sacred Writings countenance this Practice. They do indeed abound with Directions and Exhortations to *adhere steadfastly to the Faith, not to be moved from the Faith, nor*
tossed

ossed about with every Wind of Doctrine. But what is the Faith which we are to adhere to? What the Faith established and stamped for Orthodox by the Bishops and Councils? Ridiculous! If this was the Case, our Faith must be as various as their Creeds, and as absurd and contradictory as their Decisions. No: The Faith we are to be grounded and settled in, is that *which was at once delivered to the Saints*, that which was preached by the Apostles to *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*; *the wholesome Words we are to consent to are the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Doctrine which is according to Godliness.* This all genuine Christians receive, out of regard to a much higher Authority than belongs to any Set of Men in the World; and therefore the Sanction of Fathers and Councils in this Case, is as impertinent as a Man's pretending to give a Sanction to the Constitutions of the Great God. And as to all other Articles of Faith, neither they, nor any others, have any Commission to impose them on the Consciences of Men; and the Moment they attempt to do it, they cease to be Servants in the House of God, and act as the true and proper Lords of the Heritage.

But it may be said, That *the Church hath Power to determine in Controversies of Faith; so as not to decree any thing against Scripture, nor to enforce any thing to be believed as necessary to Salvation besides it; i. e.* I suppose the Church hath Power to guard the Truths of Scripture; and in any Controversies about Doctrines, to determine what is or is not agreeable to Scripture, and to enforce the Reception of what they thus decree, by obliging others to subscribe to their Decisions. If this be the Case, then it necessarily follows, that their Determinations must be ever right, and constantly agreeable

agreeable to the Doctrine of holy Writ ; and that they ought never to determine, but when they are in the Right, and are sure they are in the Right ; because, if the Matter be difficult in its Nature, or the Clergy have any Doubts and Scruples concerning it, or are liable to make false Decisions, they cannot, with any Reason, make a final Decision ; because 'tis possible they may decide on the wrong side of the Question, and thus decree Falshood instead of Truth.

I presume there are but few who will claim, in Words, so extraordinary a Power as that of establishing Falshood in the room of Truth and Scripture. But even supposing their Decisions to be right, how will it follow that they have a Power to oblige others to submit to and subscribe them ? If by sound Reason and Argument they can convince the Consciences of others, they are sure of the Agreement of all such with them in Principle ; and, upon this Foot, Subscriptions are wholly useless : If they cannot convince them, 'tis a very unrighteous Thing to impose Subscriptions on them ; and a shameful Prevarication with God and Man for any to submit to them without it.

Decisions made in Controversies of Faith, by the Clergy, carry in them no Force nor Evidence of Truth. Let their Office be ever so sacred, it doth not exempt them from human Frailties and Imperfections. They are as liable to Error and Mistake, to Prejudice and Passion, as any of the Laity whatsoever can be. How then can the Clergy have any Authority in Controversies of Faith, which the Laity have not ? That they have erred in their Decisions, and decreed Light to be Darkness, and Darkness Light ; that they have perplexed the Consciences of Men, and corrupted the Simplicity of the Faith in Christ, all their
Councils

Councils and Synods are a notorious Proof. With what Justice or Modesty then can they pretend to a Power of obliging others to believe their Articles, or subscribe them? If I was to speak the real Truth, it will be found, that those numerous Opinions which have been anathematized as Heretical, and which have broken the Christian World into Parties, have been generally invented, and broached, and propagated by the Clergy. Witness *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, and others; and therefore if we may judge, by any Observations made on the Rise of Heresy, what is a proper Method to put a stop to the Progress of it, it cannot be the Clergy's forming Articles of Faith, and forcing others to subscribe them; because this is the very Method by which they have established and propagated it.

The Truth is, this Method of preventing Error will suit all Religions, and all Sorts of Principles whatsoever; and is that by which Error maintains its Ground, and is indeed render'd impregnable. All the different Sorts of *Christians*, *Papists* and *Protestants*, *Greeks*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists* and *Armianians*, cannot certainly be right in their discriminating Principles. And yet where shall we find any Clergy that don't pretend a Right to impose Subscriptions, and who do not maintain the Truth of the Articles to which they make such Subscription necessary? Upon this Foot the Doctrines of the Council of *Trent*, the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*, and the Assemblies' Confession of Faith, are all of them equally true, Christian and Sacred; for they are in different Places embraced as Standards of Orthodoxy, and their Sacredness and Authority secur'd and maintain'd by the Subscriptions of the Clergy to them:
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And therefore I think it as little agreeable to Prudence, as it is to Justice, for Christians to keep up a Practice that may be so easily, and hath been so often turned into a Security for Heresy, Superstition and Idolatry ; and especially for Protestants to wear any longer these Marks of Slavery, which their Enemies, whenever they have Power, will not fail to make use of, either to fetter their Consciences, or distinguish them for the Burning.

But it may be said, that the Abuse of Subscriptions is no Argument against the Use of them ; and that, as they are proper to discover what Mens Sentiments are, they may be so far sometimes a Guard and Security to the Truth. But as all Parties, who use them, will urge this Reason for them, that they are in Possession of the Truth, and therefore willing to do all they can to secure and promote it ; of consequence, Subscriptions to Articles of Faith can never be looked on properly as Guards to real Truth, but as Guards to certain prevailing Principles, whether true or false. And even in this Case they are wholly ineffectual.

The Clergy of the Church of *England* are bound to subscribe the thirty-nine Articles, *i. e.* to the Truth of *Athanasian* and *Calvinistick* Principles. But hath this Subscription answer'd its End ? Do not the Clergy, who are all Subscribers, and who often repeat their Subscriptions, differ about these Heads as much as if they had never subscribed at all ? Men that have no Principles of Religion and Virtue, but enter the Church only with a View to the Benefices and Preferments of it, will subscribe ten thousand Times over, and to any Articles that can be given them, whether true or false. Thus the *Asiatick* Bishops subscribed to
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the Condemnation of the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and inform *Basiliscus* the Emperor that their Subscriptions were voluntary. And yet when *Basiliscus* was deposed, they immediately subscribed to the Truth of those Decrees, and swore their first Subscription was involuntary. So that Subscriptions cannot keep out any Atheists, Infidels, or profligate Persons. And as to others, daily Experience teaches us, that they either disbelieve the Articles they subscribe, subscribing them only as Articles of Peace; or else, that after they have subscribed them, they see reason, upon a more mature Deliberation, to alter their Minds, and change their original Opinions. So that till Men can be brought always to act upon Conscience, never to subscribe what they do not believe, nor ever to alter their Judgment, as to the Articles they have subscribed; Subscriptions are as impertinent and useless as they are unreasonable, and can never answer the Purposes of those who impose them.

But I apprehend farther, that this imposing of Subscriptions is *not only an unreasonable Custom*, but attended with many very pernicious Consequences. It is a great Hindrance to that Freedom and Impartiality of Inquiry which is the unalterable Duty of every Man, and necessary to render his Religion reasonable and acceptable. For why should any Person make any Inquiries for his own Information, when his Betters have drawn up a Religion for him, and thus kindly saved him the Labour and Pains? And as his worldly Interest may greatly depend on his doing as he is bid, and subscribing as he is ordered; is it not reasonable to think that the generality will contentedly take every thing upon Trust, and prudently refrain from creating to themselves Scruples and Doubts,

by nicely examining what they are to set their Hands to, lest they should miss of Promotion for not being able to comply with the Condition of it, or enjoy their Promotions with a dissatisfied and uneasy Conscience?

Subscriptions will, I own, sometimes prove Marks of Distinction, and as Walls of Separation: For though Men of Integrity and Conscience may, and oftentimes undoubtedly do submit to them; yet Men of no Principles, or very loose ones, worldly and ambitious Men, the Thoughtless and Ignorant, will most certainly do it, when they find it for their Interest. The Church that encloses her self with these Fences, leaves abundant Room for the Entrance of all Persons of such Characters. To whom then doth she refuse Admittance? Why, if to any, it must be to Men who cannot bend their Consciences to their Interest; who cannot believe without Examination, nor subscribe any Articles of Faith as true, without understanding and believing them. 'Tis in the very Nature of Subscriptions to exclude none but these, and to distinguish such only for Shame and Punishment. Now how is this consistent with any Thing that is called Reason or Religion?

If there could be found out any wise and reasonable Methods to throw out of the Christian Church and Ministry Men who are in their Hearts Unbelievers, who abide in the Church only for the Revenues she yields to them, who shift their religious and political Principles according to their Interest, who propagate Doctrines inconsistent with the Liberties of Mankind, and are scandalous and immoral in their Lives; if Subscriptions could be made to answer these Ends, and these only, and to throw Infamy upon such Men, and upon such Men only, no one would have any thing to alledge

alledge against the Use of them. Whereas, in truth, Subscriptions are the great Securities of such profligate Wretches, who, by complying with them, enter into the Church, and thereby share in all the temporal Advantages of it; whilst the scrupulous, conscientious Christian, is the only one she excludes; who thinks the Word of God a more sure Rule of Faith than the Dictates of Men; and that Subscriptions are Things much too sacred to be trifled with, or lightly submitted to.

They are indeed very great Snares to many Persons, and Temptations to them too often to trespass upon the Rules of strict Honesty and Virtue. For when Mens Subsistence and Advantages in the World depend on their subscribing to certain Articles of Faith, 'tis one of the most powerful Arguments that can be, to engage them to comply with it. 'Tis possible indeed they may have their Objections against the Reasonableness and Truth of what they are to subscribe: But will not Interest often lead them to overlook their Difficulties, to explain away the natural Meaning of Words, to put a different Sense upon the Articles than what they will fairly bear, to take them in any Sense, and to subscribe them in no Sense, only as Articles of Peace?

It must be by some such Evasions that *Arians* subscribe to *Athanasian* Creeds, and *Arminians* to Principles of rigid *Calvinism*. This the Clergy have been again and again reproached with, even by the Enemies of Christianity: And I am sorry to say it, they have not been able to wipe off the Scandal from themselves. I am far from saying or believing that all the Clergy make these evasive Subscriptions: Those only that do so give this Offence; and if they are, in other Cases, Men

of Integrity and Conscience, they are Objects of great Compassion.

As far as my own Judgment is concerned, I think this Manner of Subscribing to Creeds and Articles of Faith, is infamous in its Nature, and vindicable upon no Principles of Conscience and Honour. It tends to render the Clergy contemptible in the Eyes of the People, who will be apt to think that they have but little Reason to regard the Sermons of Men, who have prevaricated in their Subscriptions, and that they preach for the same Reason only that they subscribed, *viz.* their worldly Interest. 'Tis of very pernicious Influence and Example, and in its Consequences leads to the Breach of all Faith amongst Mankind, and tends to the Subversion of civil Society. For if the Clergy are known to prevaricate in subscribing to religious Tests of Orthodoxy, is it not to be fear'd that others may learn from them to prevaricate in their Subscriptions to civil Tests of Loyalty? And indeed, there is a great deal of Reason to imagine, that if Men can tutor and twist their Consciences so as to subscribe Articles of Faith, contrary to their own Persuasion, and only as Articles of Peace, or a Qualification for a Living, they would subscribe for the same Reason to Popery or Mahometanism: For if this be a good Reason for subscribing any Articles which I do not believe, 'tis a Reason for subscribing all; and therefore I humbly apprehend that a Practice, which gives so much Occasion to such scandalous Prevarications with God and Man, should be cast off as an insufferable Grievance, and as an Yoke upon the Necks of the Clergy, too heavy for them to bear.

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Let me add farther, that this Practice of imposing Subscriptions, hath been the Occasion of innumerable Mischiefs in the Church of God. 'Twas the common Cry of the Orthodox and *Arians*, and all other Hereticks, in their Turns of Power, *Either subscribe, or depart from your Churches*. This enflamed the Clergy against each other, and filled them with Hatred, Malice and Revenge. For as by imposing these Subscriptions, Inquisition was made into the Consciences of others; the Refusal to submit to them was a certain Mark of Heresy and Reprobation; and the Consequence of this was the Infliction of all spiritual and temporal Punishments. 'Twas impossible but that such Procedures should perpetuate the Schisms and Divisions of the Church, since the Wrath of Man cannot work the Righteousness of God; and since Civil Punishments have no Tendency to convince the Conscience, but only to enflame the Passions against the Advisers and Inflicters of them. And as ecclesiastical History gives us so dreadful an Account of the melancholy and tragical Effects of this Practice, one would think that no Nation, who knew the Worth of Liberty, no Christian Protestant Church, that hath any Regard for the Peace of the Flock of Christ, should ever be found to authorize and continue it.



S E C T. VI.

Adherence to the Sacred Scriptures the best Security of Truth and Orthodoxy.

WHAT Security then shall we have left us for Truth and Orthodoxy, when our Subscriptions are gone? Why, the sacred Scriptures, those Oracles of the great God, and Freedom and Liberty to interpret and understand them as we can; the Consequence of this would be great Integrity and Peace of Conscience, in the Enjoyment of our religious Principles, Union and Friendship amongst Christians, notwithstanding all their Differences in Judgment, and great Respect and Honour to those faithful Pastors, that carefully feed the Flock of God, and lead them into Pastures of Righteousness and Peace. We shall lose only the Incumbrances of Religion, our Bones of Contention, the Shackles of our Consciences, and the Snares to Honesty and Virtue; whilst all that is substantially good and valuable, all that is truly divine and heavenly, would remain to enrich and bless us.

The Clergy would indeed lose their Power to do Mischief; but would they not be happy in that Loss, especially as they would be infinitely more likely to do good? They would be no longer looked on as Fathers and Dictators in the Faith; but still they might remain *Ambassadors for Christ, beseeching Men, in Christ's stead, to become reconciled to God.* And was all human Authority, in Matters of Faith, thus wholly laid aside, would not *the Word of God have a freer Course, and be much more abundantly glorified?* All Christians would look upon Scripture as the only Rule of their Faith

Faith and Practice, and therefore search it with greater Diligence and Care, and be much more likely to understand the Mind of God therein. The main Things of Christianity would, unquestionably, be generally agreed to by all; and as to other Things, Points of Speculation, and difficult Questions, if Christians differ'd about them, their Differences would be of no great Importance, and might be maintained consistent with Charity and Peace.

Indeed, a strict and constant Adherence to Scripture, as the only Judge in Controversies of the Christian Faith, would be the most likely Method to introduce into the Church a real Uniformity of Opinion, as well as Practice. For if this was the Case, many Disputes would be wholly at an End, as having nothing to give occasion to them in the sacred Writings; and all others would be greatly shorten'd, as hereby all foreign Terms, and human Phrases of Speech, by which the Questions that have been controverted amongst Christians have been darken'd and perplexed, would be immediately laid aside, and the only Inquiry would be, What is the Sense of Scripture? What the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles? This is a much more short and effectual Way of determining Controversies, than sending Men to *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, to Councils and Synods, to *Athanasius* or *Arius*, to *Calvin* or *Arminius*, or any other Persons whatsoever that can be mentioned, who at best deliver but their own Sense of Scripture, and are not to be regarded any farther than they agree with it.

It was the Departure from this, as the great Standard of Faith, and corrupting the Simplicity of the Gospel-Doctrine by hard, unscriptural Words, that gave occasion to the innumerable

Controversies that formerly troubled the Christian Church. Human Creeds were substituted in the Room of Scripture; and according as Circumstances differ'd, or new Opinions were broached, so were the Creeds corrected, amended and enlarged, till they became so full of Subtleties, Contradictions, and Nonsense, as must make every thoughtful Man read many of them with Contempt. The Controversy was not about Scripture Expressions, but about the Words of Men; not about the Sense of Scripture, but the Decrees of Councils, and the Opinions of *Athanasius*, *Leo*, *Cyril*, and the venerable Fathers. And upon this foot 'twas no wonder their Disputes should be endless; since the Writings of all fallible Men must certainly be more obscure and intricate than the Writings of the infallible Spirit of Truth, who could be at no loss about the Doctrines he dictated, nor for proper Words suitably to express them.

'Tis infinite, 'tis endless Labour, to consult all that the Fathers have written; and when we have consulted them, What one Controversy have they rationally decided? What one Christian Doctrine have they clearly and solidly explain'd? How few Texts of Scripture have they critically settled the Sense and Meaning of? How often do they differ from one another, and in how many Instances from themselves? Those who read them, greatly differ in their Interpretation of them; and Men of the most contrary Sentiments, all claim them for their own. *Athanasians* and *Arians* appeal to the Fathers, and support their Principles by Quotations from them. And are these the venerable Gentlemen, whose Writings are to be set up in opposition to the Scripture, or set up as authoritative Judges of the Sense of Scripture?

Are Creeds of their dictating to be submitted to as the only Criterion of Orthodoxy, or esteemed as Standards to distinguish between Truth and Error? Away with this Folly and Superstition! The Creeds of the Fathers and Councils are but human Creeds, that have all the Marks in them of human Frailty and Ignorance. The Creeds which are to be found in the Gospel are the infallible Dictates of the Spirit of the God of Truth, and as such claim our Reverence and Submission; and as the forming our Principles according to them, as far as we are able to understand them, makes us Christians in the Sight of God, it should be sufficient to every one's being owned as a Christian by others, without their using any inquisitory Forms of Trial, till they can produce their Commission from Heaven for the Use of them. This, as it is highly reasonable in it self, would do the highest Honour to the Christian Clergy; who, instead of being reproach'd for Haughtiness and Pride, as the Incendiaries and Plagues of Mankind, as the Sowers of Contention and Strife, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Church of God, would be honoured for their Works sake, esteemed for their Characters, lov'd as Blessings to the World, heard with Pleasure, and become successful in their Endeavours to recommend the Knowledge and Practice of Christianity.



S E C T. VII.

The Christian Religion absolutely condemns Persecution for Conscience-sake.

WERE the Doctrines of the Gospel regarded as they should be, and the Precepts of the Christian Religion submitted to by all who profess to believe it, universal Benevolence would be the certain Effect, and eternal Peace and Union would reign amongst the Members of the Christian Church. For if there are any Commands of certain Clearness, any Precepts of evident Obligation in the Gospel, they are such as refer to the Exercise of Love, and the maintaining universal Charity. In our Saviour's admirable Discourse on the Mount, this was the excellent Doctrine he taught: *Blessed are the Meek, for they shall inherit the Earth. Blessed are the Merciful, for they shall obtain Mercy. Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of God.* And in another Place, describing the Nature of Religion in general, he tells us, that *the Love of God is the first Commandment; and that the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* This he enjoins upon his Disciples as his peculiar Command: *This is my Commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you; and recommends it to them as that whereby they were to be distinguished from all other Persons. A new Commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another.*

This

This was the more needful for them, considering that our Lord foreknew the grievous Persecutions that would befall them for his sake; to encourage them under which, he pronounces them blest'd: *Blessed are they which are persecuted for Righteousness-sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven;* whilst, at the same time, he leaves a Brand of Infamy on Persecutors, and marks them out for the Vengeance of God: *Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets that were before you. Woe unto you, for ye build the Sepulchres of the Prophets, and your Fathers killed them; therefore, saith the Wisdom of God, I will send you Prophets and Apostles, and they will slay and persecute them, that the Blood of all the Prophets——may be required of this Generation.* Matt. v. 10.

And, indeed, so far was our Lord from encouraging any persecuting Methods, that he rebuked and put a stop to all the Appearances of them. Thus when his Disciples would have called down Fire from Heaven to consume the Samaritans, who refused to receive him, he rebuked them, and said, *Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of; the Son of Man is not come to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them;* and when one of those who were with Christ cut off the Ear of one of the High Priest's Servants, upon his laying Hands on him, he severely reprov'd him: *Put up again thy Sword into its Place; for all they that take the Sword shall perish with the Sword.* Luke ix. 55, 56. And, in order to cure his Apostles of their Ambition and Pride, and to prevent their claiming an undue Power, he gave them an Example of great Humility and Condescension, in washing and wiping their Feet, and forbid them imitating the Gentiles, *by exercising Dominion and Authority; but whoever will be great amongst you, let* Matt. xx. 25, &c.

let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief amongst you, let him be your Servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be minister'd unto, but to minister, and to give his Life a Ransom for many. And as the Jewish Teachers took on them the Name of Rabbi, to denote their Power over the Consciences of those they instructed, he commanded his Disciples, *Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are Brethren; and call no Man Father upon Earth, for one is your Father, which is in Heaven. But he that is greatest amongst you, shall be your Servant.* From these, and other Passages of like Nature, it is very evident, that there is nothing in the Life of Jesus Christ that gives any Countenance to these wicked Methods of propagating and supporting Religion, that some of his pretended Followers have made use of, but the strongest Directions to the contrary.

Matt.
xxiii. 8,
&c.

Luke xiv. 23. It is indeed objected, that Christ says, *Compel them to come in, that my House may be full*: But that this Compulsion means nothing more than Invitation and Persuasion, is evident from the parallel Place of Scripture, where what St. Luke calls, *Compel them to come in*, is expressed by, *Bid them to the Marriage*, i. e. endeavour, not by Force of Arms, but by Argument and Reason, by Importunity and Earnestness, and by setting before Men the Promises and Threatnings of the Gospel, and thus addressing your selves to their Hopes and Fears, to persuade and compel them to embrace my Religion, and become the Subjects of my Kingdom; and in this moral Sense of Compulsion, the original Word is often used.

Christia-
nity as old,
&c. p. 305.
Matt. x.
34, 35. But farther, 'tis, by a late Writer, reckon'd very surprizing, that Christ should say, *Think not I am come to send Peace, I come not to send Peace, but a Sword; for I am come to set a Man at Variance with*

with his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, &c. But how is this so very surprizing? or what Man of common Sense can mistake the Meaning of the Words, who reads the whole Discourse? In the former Part of it 'tis expressly declared, that the most grievous Persecutions should befall his Disciples for his sake; that *Brother should deliver up Brother to Death, and the Father the Child; and the Children shall rise up against their Parents, and cause them to be put to Death.* Can any Man understand this of an Intention in Christ to set People at Variance? when 'tis a Prediction only of what should be the Consequence of publishing his Gospel, through the Malice and Cruelty of its Opposers; a Prediction of what his Disciples were to suffer, and not of what they were to make others suffer.

And as to that Passage in *Luke*, *I am come to send* Luke xii.
Fire on the Earth; and what will I, if it be already 49, 51.
kindled? Suppose ye that I am come to give Peace on
Earth? I tell you nay, but rather Division. How is it explain'd by Christ himself? Why, in the very next Words: *For from henceforth, i. e. upon the Publication of my Religion and Gospel, there shall be five in one House divided, three against two, and two against three, &c.* Can any Man need Paraphrase and Criticism to explain these Passages of any Thing, but of that Persecution which should befall the Preachers and Believers of the Gospel? or imagine it to be a prophetick Description of a Fire to be blown up by Christ to consume others, when the whole Connection evidently refers it to a Fire, that the Opposers of his Religion should blow up, to consume himself and Followers? Jesus knew 'twas such a Fire as would first consume himself. *I am come to send Fire on the Earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?* Or, as the Words
 should

should be translated, *How do I wish it was already kindled?* How do I wish it to break out on my own Person, that I might glorify God by my Sufferings and Death? For as it follows, *I have a Baptism to be baptized with, a Baptism with my own Blood: And how am I straiten'd till it be accomplish'd!* After this Account of his own Sufferings, he foretels the same should befall his Followers: *Suppose ye that I am come to give Peace on Earth? I tell you Nay, but rather Division; i. e. as I myself must suffer to bear Witness to the Truth, so, after my Decease, such shall be the unreasonable and furious Opposition to my Gospel, as shall occasion Divisions amongst the nearest Relations, some of whom shall hate and persecute the other for their embracing my Religion. And of consequence Christ did not declare, in the most express Terms, as the fore-mentioned Writer asserts, that he came to do that which we must suppose he came to hinder. He did only declare, that he came to do what he was resolved not to hinder, i. e. to publish such a Religion as his Enemies would put him to Death for, and as would occasion Divisions amongst the nearest Relations, through the unreasonable Hatred and Opposition that some would shew to others upon account of it. This Matter is elsewhere clearly expressed by Christ:*

Ibid.

John xvi. *These Things have I spoken to you, that ye should not be offended. They shall put you out of the Synagogues; yea, the Time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God Service. And these Things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me, i. e. have not understood either natural Religion, or the Religion of my Gospel.*

There is therefore nothing in the Conduct or Doctrines of Jesus Christ to countenance or encourage Persecution. His Temper was benevolent,

volent, his Conduct merciful; and one governing Design of all he said, was to promote Meekness and Condescension, universal Charity and Love. And in this all his Apostles were careful Imitators of his Example: *Let Love, saith St. Paul, be without* Rom. xii. *Diffimulation; be kindly affectioned one to another* 9. 10. *with brotherly Love, in Honour preferring one another. If it be possible, as much as in you lies, live peaceably* 18. *with all Men.* And the Love he recommended was such, *as worketh no Ill to his Neighbour; and* xiii. 10. *which therefore he declares to be the fulfilling of the Law.*

And, lest different Sentiments in lesser Matters should cause Divisions amongst Christians, he commands, *to receive him that is weak in the Faith,* Rom. xiv. *not to doubtful Disputations,* *μη εις διακεισας διαλογισμων,* not to Debates, or Contentions about Disputations, or disputable Things. Upon account of such Matters, he orders that none should *de-* Ibid. *spise or judge others, because God had received them; 3. 5.* and because every Man ought to be fully persuaded *in his own Mind,* and because *the Kingdom of God* 17. *was not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost; and because every one was to give an Account of himself to God, to whom* 4. *alone, as his only Master, he was to stand or fall.* From these substantial Reasons he infers, *We then* xv. 1. *that are strong, who have the most perfect Understanding of the Nature of Christianity, and our Christian Liberty, ought to bear the Infirmities of the* 5. *Weak, and not to please our selves; and having pray'd for them, that the God of Patience and Consolation would grant them to be like-minded one towards another, according to, or after the Example of Christ, that, notwithstanding the Strength of some, and the Weakness of others, they might,* *with one Mind, and with one Mouth, glorify God,* 6. *even*

even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; he adds, as
 Rom. xv. 7. the Conclusion of his Argument, *Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the Glory of God.*

I Cor. i. 10, &c. In his Letters to the Corinthians, he discovers the same divine and amiable Spirit. In his first Epistle he beseeches them, *by the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that they would all speak the same Thing, and that there should be no Schism amongst them, but that they should be perfectly joined together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment; i.e. that they should all own and submit to Christ, as their only Lord and Head, and not rank themselves under different Leaders, as he had been informed they had done; for that they were the Body of Christ, and all of them his Members, and ought*
 xii. 27. *therefore to maintain that Charity to one another, which suffereth long, and is kind; which envieth not, vaunteth not it self, is not puffed up, doth not behave it self unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no Evil, rejoiceth not in Iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth; beareth all Things, believeth all Things, hopeth all Things, endureth all Things; which is greater and more excellent than Faith and Hope, which fail not in Heaven it self, where Faith and Hope shall be at an End; and without which, though we could speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, should have the Gift of Prophecy, and understand all Mysteries, and all Knowledge, and could remove Mountains; yea, though we should bestow all our Goods to feed the Poor, and give our Bodies to be burned, we should be only as sounding Brass, and as a tinkling Cymbal; nothing in the Account of God, nothing as to any real Profit and Advantage that will accrue to us. And, in his second Epistle, he takes his Leave of them with this divine Exhortation, and glorious Encouragement: Finally,*
 Brethren,

Brethren, farewell; be perfect, be of good Comfort, be 2 Cor. of one Mind, το αὐτο φρονεῖτε, be affectionate, and xiii. 11. kindly disposed to one another, as though you were influenced by one common Mind: Live in Peace, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with you.

In his Epistle to the *Galatians*, he gives us a Ca-Gal. v. talogue of those Works of the Flesh which ex-19, &c. clude Men from the Kingdom of God; such as Adultery, Fornication, — *Hatred, Variance, Emulation, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings*, and the like; and then assures us, that *the Fruits of the Spirit are Love, Joy, Pence, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, and Temperance, against which there is no Law*; and, after having laid down this as an essential Principle of Christianity, that *neither Circumcision availeth any Chap. vi. thing, nor Uncircumcision, but a new Creature*; or, 15. as 'tis expressed in another Place, *Faith which works by Love*; he pronounces this truly apostolick Benediction, *As many as walk according to this Rule, 16. Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Israel of God.*

The same divine and excellent Strain runs thro' his Letter to the *Ephesians*: *I therefore, the Prisoner Eph. iv. of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the 1, &c. Vocation wherewith ye are called, with all Lowliness and Meekness, with Long-suffering, forbearing one another in Love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; and the Term of this Union, which he lays down, is the Acknowledgment of one Catholick Church, one Spirit, one Lord and Mediator, and one God, even the Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in all. The contrary Vices, of *Bitterness and 31. Wrath, and Anger and Clamour, and Evil-speaking and Malice, are to be put away, as Things that*

Eph. iv. 32. *grieve the Holy Spirit of God; and we must be kind one to another, forgiving one another, even as God, for*
 Chap. v. 1, 2. *Christ's sake, hath forgiven us; and be Followers of God, by walking in Love, even as Christ hath also loved us, and hath given himself for us.*

Phil. ii. 1, &c. *His Exhortation to the Philippians, is in the most moving Terms: If there be any Consolation in Christ, if any Comfort of Love, if any Fellowship of the Spirit, if any Bowels and Mercies, fulfil ye my Joy; that ye be like-minded, having the same Love, being of one Accord, of one Mind. Let nothing be done thro' Strife or Vain-glory, but in Lowliness of Mind let each esteem other better than themselves.*

Col. iii. 8, &c. *In his Exhortation to the Colossians, he warmly presses our cultivating the same Disposition, and abounding in the same Practice: Put off all these, Anger, Wrath, Malice;—put on as the Elect of God, holy and beloved, Bowels of Mercies, Kindness, Humbleness of Mind, Meekness, Long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave us. And, above all these Things, put on Charity, which is the Bond of Perfection; and let the Peace of God rule in your Hearts, to which also ye are called in one Body.*

1 Tim. i. 5, &c. *In his Directions to Timothy, he gives him this Summary of all practical Religion: The End of the Commandment is Charity out of a pure Heart, and a good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned; and he ascribes Mens turning aside to vain Jangling, to their having swerved from this great Principle.*

James iii. 14, &c. *And, to mention no more Passages on this Head, I shall conclude this whole Account with that amiable Description of the Wisdom that is from above, given by St. James: The Wisdom that is from above is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocrisy. But if we have bitter*
Envy

Envy and Strife in our Hearts, we have nothing to glory in, but we lye against the Truth, i. e. belye our Christian Profession; for whatever false Judgment we may pass upon our selves, this Wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish; for where Envy and Strife is, there is Confusion, and every evil Work.

I have thrown all these excellent Passages of the sacred Writings together, that it may appear, in the most convincing Light, that the Scriptures have nothing in them to countenance the Spirit, or any of the Methods of Persecution; and to confront the melancholy Account I have given before of the Progress and Ravages caused by this accursed Evil. Good God, how have the Practices of Christians differed from the Precepts of Christianity! Would one imagine that the Authors of those dreadful Mischiefs and Confusions were the Bishops and Ministers of the Christian Church? That they had ever read the Records of the Christian Religion? Or if they had, that they ever believed them?

But it may be objected, that whatever may be the Precepts of the Christian Religion, yet the Conduct even of the Apostles themselves gives some Countenance to the Spirit and Practice of Persecution, and particularly the Conduct of *St. Paul*; and that such Powers are given to the Guides and Bishops of the Christian Church, as do either expressly or virtually include in them a Right to persecute. Let us briefly examine each of these Pretensions.

As to the Practice of the Apostles, *Beza* mentions two Instances to vindicate the Punishment of Hereticks. The first is that of *Ananias and Sapphira*, struck dead by *Peter*; and the other that of *Elymas* the Sorcerer, struck blind by *Paul*.

De Heret.
a Magist.
pun. p.
161, &c.

But how impertinently are both these Instances alledged? Heresy was not the Thing punished in either of them. *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were struck dead for Hypocrisy and Lying; and for conspiring, if it were possible, to deceive God. *Elymas* was a *Jewish* Sorcerer, and false Prophet; a subtle, mischievous Fellow, an Enemy to Righteousness and Virtue, who withstood the Apostolick Authority, and endeavoured, by his Frauds, to prevent the Conversion of the Deputy to the Christian Faith. The two first of these Persons were punished with Death. By whom? What, by *Peter*? No, by the immediate Hand of God. *Peter* gave them a Reproof suitable to their Wickedness; but as to the Punishment, he was only the Mouth of God in declaring it, even of that God who knew the Hypocrisy of their Hearts, and gave this signal Instance of his Abhorrence of it in the Infancy of the Christian Church, greatly to discourage, and, if possible, for the future, to prevent Mens thus dealing fraudulently and insincerely with him. And, I presume, if God hath a Right to punish Frauds and Cheats in another World, he hath a Right to do so in this; especially in the Instance before us, which seems to have something very peculiar in it.

Acts v. 9. *Peter* expressly says to *Sapphira*, *How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* What can this tempting of the Spirit of the Lord be, but an Agreement between *Ananias* and his Wife to put this Fraud on the Apostle, to see whether or no he could discover it by the Spirit he pretended to? This was a proper Challenge to the Spirit of God, which the Apostles were endued with, and a Combination to put the Apostolick Character to the Trial. Had not the Cheat been discovered, the Apostle's Inspiration and

and Mission would have been deservedly questioned; and as the State of Christianity required that this divine Mission should be abundantly established, *Peter* lets them know that their Hypocrisy was discovered; and, to create the greater Regard and Attention to their Persons and Message, God saw fit to punish that Hypocrisy with Death.

As to *Elymas* the Sorcerer, this Instance is as ^{Acts xiii.} foreign and impertinent as the other. *Sergius* ^{6, &c.} *Paulus*, Proconsul of *Cyprus*, had entertained at *Paphos* one *Barjesus* a Jew, a Sorcerer; and hearing also that *Paul* and *Barnabas* were in the City, he sent for them to hear the Doctrine they preached. Accordingly they endeavoured to instruct the Deputy in the Christian Faith, but were withstood by *Elymas*, who, by his Subtleties and Tricks, endeavoured to hinder his Conversion. *St. Paul* therefore, in order to confirm his own divine Mission, and to prevent the Deputy's being deceived by the Frauds and Sorceries of *Elymas*, after severely rebuking him for his Sin, and Opposition to Christianity, tells him, not that the Proconsul ought to put him in Jail, and punish him with the civil Sword, but that God himself would decide the Controversy, by striking the Sorcerer himself immediately blind; which accordingly came to pass, to the full Conviction of the Proconsul.

Now what is there in all this to vindicate Persecution? God punishes wicked Men for Fraud and Sorcery, who knew their Hearts, and had a Right to punish the Iniquity of them. Therefore Men may punish others for Opinions they think to be true, and are conscientious in embracing, without knowing the Heart, or being capable of discovering any Insincerity in it. Or God may vindicate the Character and Mission of

his own Messengers, when wickedly opposed and denied, by immediate Judgments inflicted by himself on their Opposers. Therefore the Magistrate may punish and put to Death, without any Warrant from God, such who believe their Mission, and are ready to submit to it, as far as they understand the Nature and Design of it. Are these Consequences just and rational? or would any Man have brought these Instances as Precedents for Persecution, that was not resolved, at all Hazards, to defend and practise it?

1 Cor. v. 5. But doth not St. Paul command to deliver Persons to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh? Doth Gal. i. 9. he not wish that they were even cut off who trouble
 v. 12. Christians, and enjoin us to mark them which cause
 Rom. xvi. Divisions and Offences, contrary to his Doctrine, and
 17. to avoid them, and not to eat with them? Undoubtedly he doth. But what can be reasonably inferred from hence in favour of Persecution, merely for the sake of Opinions and Principles? In all these Instances, the Things censured are Immoralities and Vices. The Person who was deliver'd by St. Paul to Satan, was guilty of a Crime not so much as named by the Gentiles themselves, the incestuous Marriage of his Father's Wife; and the Persons we are, as Christians, commanded not to keep company and eat with, are Men of scandalous Lives; such as Fornicators, or Covetous, or Idolaters, or Railers, or Drunkards, or Extortioners, making a Profession of the Christian Religion, or, in St. Paul's Phrase, called Brethren; a wise and prudent Exhortation in those Days especially, to prevent others from being corrupted by such Examples, and any Infamy thrown on the Christian Name and Character. As to those whom the Apostle wishes cut off, they were the persecuting Jews, who spread Contention amongst Christians,

Christians, and taught them to bite and devour one another, upon account of Circumcision, and such-like Trifles ; Men that were the Plagues and Corrupters of the Society they belonged to. Men who caused such Divisions, and who caused them out of a Love to their own Belly, deserved to have a Mark set upon them, and to be avoided by all who regarded their own Interest, or the Peace of others.

What the Apostle means by delivering to Satan, I am not able certainly to determine. It was not, I am sure, the putting the Person in Jail, or torturing his Body by an Executioner ; nor sending him to the Devil by the Sword or the Faggot. One Thing included in it, undoubtedly was his Separation from the Christian Church : *Put away* ^{1 Cor. v.} *from amongst your selves that wicked Person ;* which ^{13.} probably was attended with some bodily Distemper, which, as it came from God, had a Tendency to bring the Person to Consideration and Reflection. The immediate Design of it was the Destruction of the Flesh, to cure him of his Incest, that, by Repentance and Reformation, his *Spirit might be saved in the Day of Christ* ; and the Power by which the Apostle inflicted this Punishment, was peculiar to himself, which God gave him *for Edification, and not for Destruction* : So that what-^{2 Cor. x.} ever is precisely meant by delivering to Satan, it^{8.} was the Punishment of a notorious Sin ; a Punishment that carried the Marks of God's Hand, and was design'd for the Person's Good, and was actually instrumental to recover and save him, ^{2 Cor. ii.}

But what Resemblance is there in all this to Persecution, in which there is no Appearance of the Hand of God, nor any Marks but those of the Cruelty and Vengeance of Men ; no Immorality

punished, and, generally speaking, nothing that in its Nature deserves Punishment, or but what deserves Encouragement and Applause. And 'tis very probable that this is what St. *Paul* means by his *wishing those cut off* who disturbed the Peace of the *Galatian* Christians, by spreading Divisions amongst them, and exciting Persecutions against them; though, I confess, if St. *Paul* meant more, and pray'd to God that those obstinate and incorrigible Enemies to Christianity, who, for private Views of worldly Interest, raised perpetual Disturbances and Persecutions where-ever they came, might receive the just Punishment of their Sins, and be hereby prevented from doing farther Mischief, I don't see how this would have been inconsistent with Charity, or his own Character as an inspired Apostle.

It may possibly be urged, that though the Things censured in these Places are Immoralities, yet that there are other Passages which refer only to Principles; and that the Apostle *Paul* speaks against them with great Severity: As particularly,

Gal. i. 9. *If any Man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* And again,

Tit. iii. 10. *A Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition, reject.* As to the first of these, nothing can be more evident, than that the Apostle pronounces an Anathema only against those who subverted the Christian Religion; such who taught that it was insufficient to Salvation, without Circumcision, and Submission to the *Jewish* Law. As the Gospel he taught was what he had received from Christ, he had, as an Apostle, a Right to warn the Churches he wrote to against corrupting the Simplicity of it; and to pronounce an Anathema, *i. e.* to declare, in the Name of his great Master, that all such false Teachers should

should be condemned who continued to do so: And this is the utmost that can be made of the Expression; and therefore this Place is as impertinently alledged in favour of Persecution, as it would be to alledge those Words of Christ, *He that believeth not, shall be condemned.* The Anathema pronounced was the divine Vengeance; it was *Anathema Maranatha*, to take place only when the Lord should come to Judgment, and not to be executed by human Vengeance.

As to Heresy, against which such dreadful Outcries have been raised, 'tis taken indifferently in a good or a bad Sense in the Scripture. In the bad Sense, it signifies, not an involuntary Error, or Mistake of Judgment, into which serious and honest Minds may fall, after a careful Inquiry into the Will of God; but a wilful criminal Corruption of the Truth for worldly Ends and Purposes. Thus 'tis reckon'd by St. Paul ^{Gal. v. 20.} himself amongst the Works of the Flesh, such as Adultery, Fornication, Variance, Strifes, and the like; because Heresy is embraced for the sake of fleshly Lusts, and always ministers to the serving them. Thus St. Peter: *There were false Prophets also amongst the People, even as there shall be false Teachers amongst you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift Destruction; and many shall follow their pernicious Ways, by reason of whom the Way of Truth shall be evil spoken of; and through Covetousness shall they, with feigned Words, make Merchandize of you; whom he farther describes, as walking after the Flesh in the Lust of Uncleaness, and as given to almost all manner of Vices. This is Heresy, and denying the Lord that bought us, and the only Meaning of the Expression, as used by the Apostle; though it hath been applied*

Tit. iii.
11.

plied by weak or designing Men to denote all such as don't believe their metaphysical Notion of the Trinity, or the *Athanasian Creed*. Hence it is that St. *Paul* gives it, as the general Character of an Heretick, that *he is subverted*, viz. from the Christian Faith; *finneth*, viz. by voluntarily embracing Errors, subversive of the Gospel, in favour of his Lusts, on which Account he is *self-condemn'd*, viz. by his own Conscience, both in the Principles he teaches, and the vile Uses to which he makes them serve: So that tho' sincere and honest Inquirers after Truth, Persons who fear God, and practise Righteousness, may be Hereticks in the Esteem of Men, for not understanding and believing their Peculiarities in Religion, yet they are not and cannot be Hereticks, according to the Scripture-Description of Heresy, in the Notion of which there is always supposed a wicked Heart, causing Men wilfully to embrace and propagate such Principles as are subversive of the Gospel, in order to serve the Purposes of their Avarice, Ambition, and Lust.

Such Heresy as this is unquestionably one of the worst of Crimes, and Hereticks of this kind are worthy to be rejected. It must be confessed, that Heresy hath been generally taken in another Sense, and to mean Opinions that differ from the established Orthodoxy, or from the Creeds of the Clergy, that are uppermost in Power; who have not only taken on them to reject such as have differ'd from them, from their Communion and Church, but to deprive them of Fortune, Liberty and Life. But as St. *Paul's* Notion of Heresy entirely differs from what the Clergy have generally taught about it, theirs may be allowed to be a very irrational and absurd Doctrine, and the Apostle's remain a very wise and good one; and
though

though they have gone into all the Lengths of Wickedness to punish what they have stigmatized with the Name of Heresy, they have had no apostolick Example or Precept to countenance them; Scripture Hereticks being only to be rejected from the Church, according to *St. Paul*; and, as to any farther Punishment, 'tis deferred till the Lord shall come.

As to the Powers given to the Guides, or Overseers, or Bishops of the Church, I allow their Claims have been exceeding great. They have assumed to themselves the Name of the *Church* and *Clergy*, hereby to distinguish themselves from the Flock of Christ. They have taken on them, as we have seen, to determine, mend, and alter the Faith; to make Creeds for others, and oblige them to subscribe them; and to act as though our Saviour had divested himself of his own Rights, and given unto them *all Power in Heaven and Earth*. But these Claims have as little Foundation in the Gospel as in Reason.

The Words *Clergy* and *Church*, are never once used in Scripture to denote the Bishops, or other Officers, but the Christian People. *St. Peter* advises the Presbyters *to feed the Flock of God, and to exercise the Episcopal Office willingly,*^m *not as lording*³ *it over the Heritages,* or Clergy of God. And *St. Paul*, writing to his *Ephesians*, and speaking of their Privileges as Christians, says, that *by Christ they were made God's peculiar Lot, or Heritage,* orⁿ Clergy. In like manner the Body of Christians in general, and particular Congregations in particular Places, are called the Church, but the Ministers of the Gospel never in contra-distinction

^m Μη ως κατακυριεύοντες των κληρω,

ⁿ Εν ω κ' εκληρωθημεν.

to them. 'Tis of all Believers that *St. Peter* gives that noble Description, that they are a *spiritual House, an holy Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifices; a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, and a ° peculiar People, or a People for his peculiar Heritage, or purchased Possession, as the Word is render'd, Eph. i. 14.* So that to be the Church, the Clergy, and the sacred Priests of God, is an Honour common to all Christians in general by the Gospel Charter. These are not the Titles of a few only, who love to exalt themselves above others.

Eph. iv.
11.

Undoubtedly, the Order of the Christian Worship requires that there should be proper Persons to guide and regulate the Affairs of it. And accordingly *St. Paul* tells us, that *Christ* gave some *Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers*; different Officers, according to the different State and Condition of his Church. To the Apostles extraordinary Powers were given, to fit them for the Service to which they were called; and, to enable them to manage these Powers in a right Manner, they were under the peculiar Conduct of the Spirit of God. Thus our Saviour, after his Resurrection, breathed on his

John xx.
23.

Disciples the Holy Ghost, and said, *Whose soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whose soever Sins ye retain, they are retained*; a Commission of the same Import with that which he gave them before, *Matt. xviii. 18. Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* To bind, is to retain Mens Sins; and to loose, is to remit their Sins. And this Power the Apostles had; and it was absolutely necessary they should have it,

or they could never have spread his Religion in the World.

But wherein did this binding and loosing, this retaining and remitting Sins, consist? What, in their saying to this Man, I absolve you from your Sins; and, to the other, I put you under the Sentence of Damnation? Would any considerate Man in the World have ever credited their Pretensions to such an extravagant Power? Or can one single Instance be produced of the Apostles pretending to exercise it? No. Their Power of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting Sins, consisted in this, and in this principally, *viz.* their fixing the great Conditions of Mens future Salvation, and denouncing the Wrath of Almighty God against all, who, thro' wilful Obstinacy, would not believe and obey the Gospel. And the Commission was given them in the most general Terms, *Whose soever Sins ye retain, &c.* not because they were to go to particular Persons, and peremptorily say, *You shall be saved, and you shall be damned;* but because they were to preach the Gospel to *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*, and to fix those Conditions of future Happiness and Misery that should include all the Nations of the Earth, to whom the Gospel should be preached.

This was their proper Office and Work, as Apostles; and, in order to this, they had the Spirit given them, to bring all Things that Christ had said to their Remembrance, and to instruct them fully in the Nature and Doctrines of the Gospel. And as they have declared the whole Counsel of God to the World, they have loosed and bound all Mankind, *even the very Bishops and Pastors of the Church, as well as others,* as they have fixed those Conditions of Pardon and Mercy, of future Happiness and Misery for all Men, from
which

which God will not recede, to the End of Time. This was a Power fit to be entrusted with Men under the Conduct of an unerring Spirit, and with them only; whereas the common Notion of sacerdotal or priestly Absolution, as it hath no Foundation in this Commission to the Apostles, nor in any Passage of the sacred Writings, is irrational and absurd, and which the Priests have no more Power to give, than any other common Christian whatsoever; no, nor than they have to make a new Gospel.

I would add, that as the Apostles received this Commission from Christ, they were bound to confine themselves wholly to it, and not to exceed the Limits of it. They were his Servants who sent them; and the Message they received from him, that, and that only, were they to deliver to the World. Thus St. Paul says of himself, that
 2 Cor. v. 20. *God had committed to him the Word of Reconciliation, and that he was an Ambassador for Christ; that he*
 iv. 5. *preached not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and himself the Servant of others for Jesus sake; that he*
 i. 24. *had no Dominion over others Faith, no Power to impose upon them arbitrary Things, or Articles of Faith, which he had not received from Christ; and that accordingly he determined to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified, i. e. to preach nothing but the pure and uncorrupted Doctrines of his Gospel; and that this was his great Comfort, that he had not shunned to declare the Counsel of God.*

If then the inspired Apostles were to confine themselves to what they received from God, and had no Power to make Articles of Faith, and fix Terms of Communion and Salvation, other than what they were immediately ordered to do by Christ, it is absolutely impossible that the Clergy
 can

can have that Power now ; who have, as I apprehend, no immediate Commission from Christ, nor any direct Inspiration from his Holy Spirit. Nor is there any Thing in the Circumstances of the World to render such a Power desirable ; because the Apostles have shewn us all Things that we need believe or practise as Christians, and commanded the Preachers of the Gospel to teach no other Doctrines but what they received from them. Hence St. Peter's Advice to the Elders, that they should *feed the Flock of God, not as lording* ^{1 Pet. v. 3.} *it over the Heritage.* And St. Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy, instructing him in the Nature of the Gospel Doctrines and Duties, tells him, that *by* ^{1 Tim. iv. 6.} *putting the Brethren in Remembrance of these Things,* ^{vi. 13, 14, 20.} *he would approve himself a good Minister of Jesus Christ ;* and commands him to *take heed to himself,* ^{2 Tim. ii. 2.} *and to the Doctrines* he had taught him, *and to continue in them ;* charging him, *in the Sight of God,* ^{2.} *and before Christ Jesus, to keep the Commandment given* ^{2.} *him, that which was committed to his Trust, without Spot, unrebukeable, till the Appearance of Christ Jesus.* These were the Things to which Timothy was to confine himself, and to commit to others, that they might be continually preached in the Christian Church ; and, of Consequence, 'tis the same Apostolick Doctrine that the Bishops, or Elders, or Ministers of the Church, are to instruct their Hearers in now, as far as they understand it, without mixing any Thing of their own with it, or of any other Persons whatsoever.

The great End and Design of the ministerial Office, is for the *perfecting of the Saints, and the* ^{Acts xx. 28.} *edifying of the Body of Christ.* Hence the Elders are commanded to *take heed to themselves, and to the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them* BISHOPS, *to feed the Church of God.* They are likewise

wife exhorted to *hold fast the faithful Word, as they had been taught, that by sound Doctrine they may be able to exhort and convince others.* They are to give *Attendance to Reading, Exhortation, and Doctrine,* and to put others in Remembrance of the great Truths of the Gospel; charging them, before the Lord, not to strive about unprofitable Words, but *to be gentle to all Men, and in Meekness to instruct even those who oppose.* They are to contend earnestly *for the Faith,* as well as other Christians, but then 'tis for *that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints;* and, even for this, *the Servant of the Lord*

2 Tim. ii. is not, $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, to fight. He is not to use carnal, but *Spiritual Weapons;* nor to put on any Armour, but that of Righteousness on the Right Hand, and on the Left. They are to *speak the Truth,* but it must be *in Love.* They should be *zealously affected,* but it should be always *in a good Thing.* They must *stop the Mouths of unruly and vain Talkers,* but it must be by *Uncorruptness of Doctrine, Gravity, Sincerity, and sound Speech, that cannot be condemned.*

Upon these, and the like Accounts, they are said to be *over us in the Lord, to rule us,* and to be *our Guides;* Words that do not imply any Dominion that they have over the Consciences of others, nor any Right in them to prescribe Articles of Faith and Terms of Communion for others. This they are expressly forbidden, and commanded to preach the Word of God only, and pronounced accursed if they teach any other Gospel than that which they have received from the Apostles. And, of Consequence, when we are bid *to obey and submit our selves to them,* it is meant then, and then only, when they *rule us in the Lord;* when they speak to us the Word of God, and *labour in the Word and Doctrine.* In all other Cases, they have

no Power, nor is there any Obedience due to them. They are to be respected, and to *be had in double Honour for their Work sake*, i. e. when they *preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord*; and when their Faith and Conversation is such, as to become worthy our Imitation. But if *they teach otherwise, and consent not to the Words of our Lord Jesus*; if they doat about Words whereof come Envy, Strife and Railing, supposing that Gain is Godliness, from such we are commanded to withdraw our selves. The Episcopal Character, however otherwise greatly venerable, then forfeits the Reverence due to it, and becomes contemptible.

So that there are no Powers or Privileges annexed to the Episcopal or Ministerial Character, in the sacred Writings, that are in the least favourable to the Cause of Persecution, or that countenance so vile and detestable a Practice. As to the Affair of Excommunication, by which the Clergy have set the World so often in a Flame, there is nothing in the sacred Records that confines the Right of exercising it to them, nor any Command ever to exercise it, but towards notorious and scandalous Offenders. The incestuous *Corinthian* was delivered over to Satan by the Church in full Assembly, on which Account his Punishment or Censure is said to be *by many*. And ^{1 Cor. v. 4.} though St. Paul bids *Titus* to *reject an Heretick*, he also bids the *Corinthians* to *put away that wicked* ^{2 Cor. ii. 6.} *Person from amongst them*, which had brought such a Scandal upon their Church; and the *Thessalonians*, to *withdraw themselves from every Brother that should walk disorderly*. So that as the Clergy have no Right, from the New Testament, to determine in Controversies of Faith, nor to create any new Species of Heresy, so neither have they any exclusive Right to cut off any Persons from the

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